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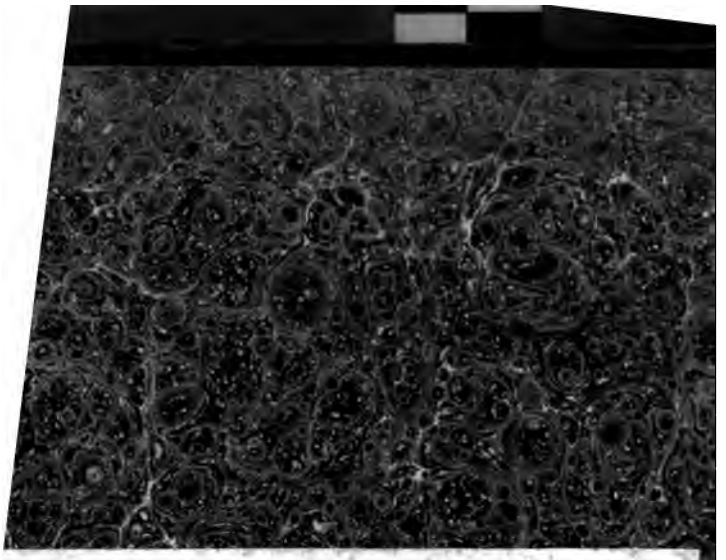
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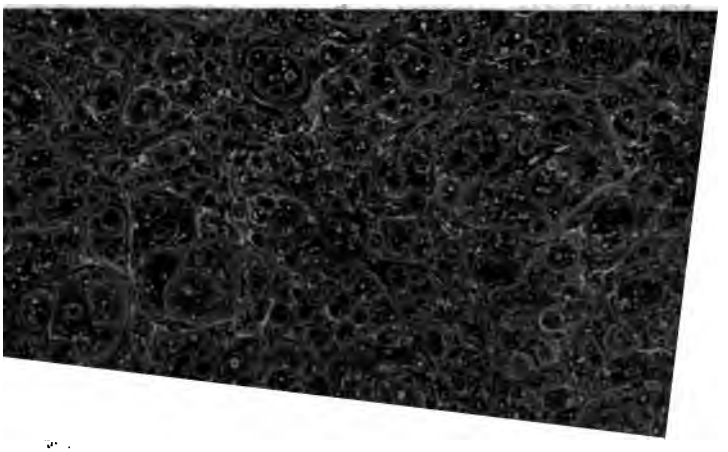
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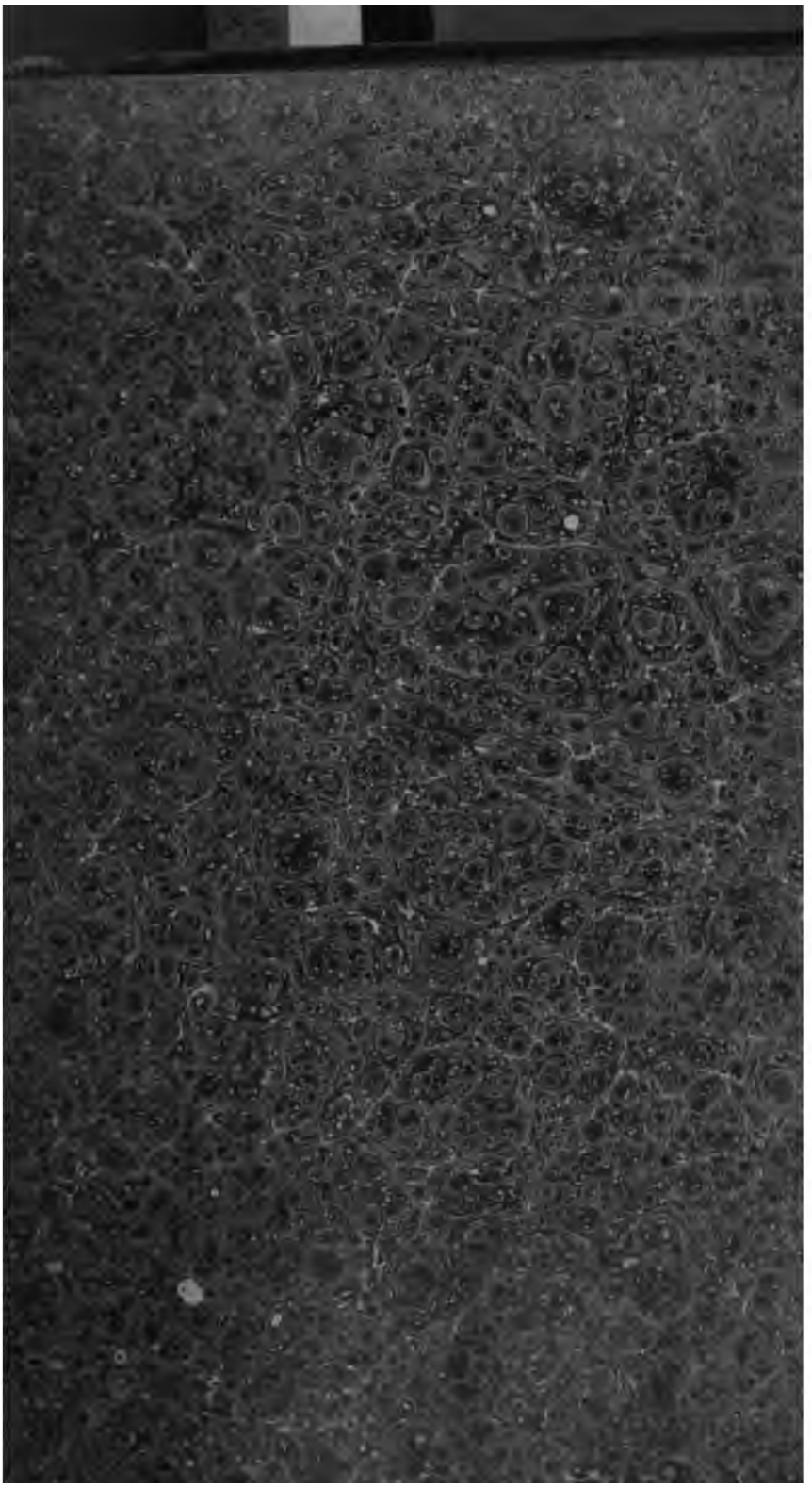
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THE

HISTORY OF ROME,

BY

TITUS LIVIUS.

VOL. VI.

THE

HISTORY OF ROME,

BY

TITUS LIVIUS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL,

WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS,

BY GEORGE BAKER, A. M.

History is Philosophy teaching by examples.
BOLINGBROKE.

FIRST AMERICAN, FROM THE LAST LONDON EDITION.

IN SIX VOLUMES.—VOL. VI.

NEW YORK:

PUBLISHED BY PETER A. MESIER, COLLINS & CO., T. & J. SWORDS, A. T. GOODRICH, HENRY I. MEGARY, R. & W. A. BARTOW, S. GOULD, W. B. GILLEY, JAMES EASTBURN, GEORGE LONG, PRIOR & DUNNING, SAMUEL CAMPBELL & SON, E. BLISS & E. WHITE, A. DURELL & CO. AND JAMES V. SEAMAN.

1823.

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THE

HISTORY OF ROME.

BOOK XLI.

The sacred fire of the temple of Vesta extinguished. Titus Sempronius Gracchus, proconsul, subdues the Celtiberians, receives their submission, and, for a perpetual monument of his exploits, builds a town in Spain, to which he gives the name of Gracchuris. The Vaccæans and Lusitanians subdued by Postumius Albinus, who triumphs over them. Aulus Manlius, consul, marching into Istria, suffers a partial defeat; but afterwards routs the Istrians. Quintus Voconius Saxa proposes a law, that women shall not inherit, which is supported by Cato, and carried. Successful operations, under different commanders, against the Ligurians, Istrians, Sardinians, and Celtiberians. Perseus prepares for war; solicits the assistance of the Carthaginians, of the Grecian states, and of Antiochus Epiphanes. Character of Antiochus.*

I. *IN the distribution of the provinces, those assigned to the consuls were,—to Manlius, Gaul; and to Junius, Liguria. As to the prætors, the city jurisdiction fell to Marcus Titinius Curvus; the foreign, to Tiberius Claudius Nero; Sicily, to Publius Ælius Ligus; Sardinia, to Titus Æbutius: the Hither Spain, to the other* Y.R.574. B.C.178.

* This book is very imperfect: a great part of the beginning of it is lost; and there are, besides, considerable chasms in other parts of it. The supplemental passages which the translator has introduced, to complete the connection, are taken from Crevier. They are printed in a different character.

Marcus Titinius; and the Farther Spain, to Titus Fonteius Capito. A fire broke out in the Forum, and destroyed a great number of buildings. The sacred fire of Vesta was extinguished; the virgin who had the care of it was punished with stripes, by order of Marcus Æmilius, the chief pontiff, and supplication was performed, as usual in such cases. The lustrum was closed by Marcus Æmilius Lepidus and Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, censors, in which were rated two hundred and seventy three thousand two hundred and forty-four citizens. The ambassadors of Perseus arrived, desiring a renewal of the league, and the title of King; and although the Romans entertained no friendly disposition to Perseus, whom they had reason to believe disposed, as soon as he should think himself strong enough, to take the first opportunity of commencing that war, which had been so long projected by his father Philip; yet, not to furnish him with any pretext for a quarrel, they complied with both his requests. When Perseus received their answer, he thought himself effectually confirmed on the throne, at the same time hoping to gain the favour and affection of the Greeks, and which, by various acts of kindness and munificence, he in a great measure effected. Before the new prætors arrived in the Spanish provinces, very important services were performed there by Postumius and Gracchus; the latter of whom, in particular, acquired a very high reputation, not only as a military commander, but as a statesman, from his wise adjustment of the the terms of peace between the Romans and the conquered nations. For he distributed lands, and assigned habitations, to such as wanted them; and, for all the states in that part of the country, he wrote out accurate copies of the like conditions of amity and alliance as with the others, and had them ratified by the oaths of all the parties; and the authority of which treaty was often appealed to, in the following age, on occasion of the wars which then broke out. To a town hitherto

called Illurcis, he gave the name of Gracchuris, as a memorial of his meritorious labours in the province. Postumius did not obtain an equal share of renown; yet he subdued the Vaccæans and Lusitanians; and both of them, on their return home, after delivering up the provinces to their successors, were honoured with triumphs. In Gaul, Manlius, the consul, to whose lot that province had fallen, not finding any employment that could afford him hopes of a triumph, eagerly embraced an opportunity, which fortune threw in his way, of entering into a war with the Istrians. This people had formerly sent assistance to the Ætolians, in their quarrel with the Romans, and had lately shown a disposition to be troublesome. The King at that time on the throne, was called Epulo, and was of a turbulent temper. His father had kept the nation quiet; but it was now reported, that this prince had compelled them to take arms, and that this had highly endeared him to the youth of the country, who were eager for plunder. The consul held a council on the subject of a war with Istria; in which some were of opinion, that it ought to be begun immediately, before the enemy could collect forces; others, that the senate ought first to be consulted: the former opinion was adopted. Accordingly, the consul, marching from Aquileia, pitched his camp at the lake Timavus, which lies very near the sea. Thither came Caius Furius, one of the naval commanders, with ten ships; for two commanders had been appointed to direct the operations of the fleet against that of the Illyrians; and they were ordered, with twenty vessels, to protect the coast of the upper sea, making Ancona the common boundary between their stations; so that Lucius Cornelius had to guard the coasts on the right, from thence to Tarentum; and Caius Furius those on the left, as far as Aquileia. This squadron was sent to the nearest port in the Istrian territory, with a number of transports, and a large store of provisions; while the consul,

following with the legions, encamped at the distance of about five miles from the coast. A plentiful market was soon established at the port, and every thing conveyed thence to the camp. That this might be done with greater safety, outposts were fixed around the camp; with a guard opposite the country of Istria. A newly-levied cohort of Placentines was posted between the camp and the sea; and that the watering-parties might likewise have protection at the river, orders were given to Marcus Æbutius, military tribune, to take thither two companies of the second legion. Titus Ælius, military tribune, led out the third legion, on the road towards Aquileia, in support of those that went for food and forage. In the same quarter, at the distance of about five miles, a party of Gauls, not exceeding three thousand in number, lay encamped, under the command of a chieftain, called Carmelus. * * * * * * * * * *

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II. When the Roman army first reached the lake Timavus, the Istrians took post behind a hill, where they could not be seen; and on its march thence followed it through by-ways, watching attentively for some opportunity that might give them an advantage; nor did any thing that was done, either on land or sea, escape their observation. When they saw the weakness of the advanced guards of the Romans, and that the market-place was filled with an unarmed crowd, who carried on a traffic with the camp, and that they had not fortified themselves either by works on land, or by the help of ships, they made an assault on two of their posts at once, the Placentine cohort, and the two companies of the second legion. A morning fog concealed their design; and when this began to disperse as the sun grew warm, the light, piercing through it in some degree, yet still being far from clear, and, as usual in such cases, magnifying the appearance

of every thing, imposed so far on the Romans, that they thought the force of the enemy much greater than it really was. The troops in both the posts were so terrified, that they ran in the utmost confusion to the camp, where they caused much greater alarm than that which they were under themselves; for they could neither tell what had made them fly, nor answer any question that was asked. Then a shouting was heard at all the gates. There were no guards at them capable of withstanding an attack; and the hurry in which the men crowded and pressed against each other, from the want of light, made it suspected that the enemy were already in the camp. One only cry was heard from all, to hasten to the sea. These words were uttered by one alone, yet the cry quickly resounded in every part. At first, therefore, a few with their arms, and many more without them, as if they had received orders so to do, ran off to the seashore; then followed others in greater numbers, and, at length, almost the whole of the army, with the consul himself, who had endeavoured to call back the runaways by commands, advice, and, at last, by entreaties, but all to no purpose. Marcus Licinius Strabo, a military tribune of the third legion, with three companies alone, remained; the rest of his legion having gone off. The Istrians, breaking into the empty camp, and meeting none other to oppose them, came upon him while he was drawing up and encouraging his men at the general's quarters; on which a fight ensued, more vigorous than could have been expected from so small a band; nor did it cease until the tribune, and those who stood round him, were all slain. The enemy then, tearing down the general's tent, and seizing on all they could find, went on to the quæstor's quarters, and the adjoining Forum, called Quintana. In the quæstor's tent was plenty of all kinds of food ready dressed and laid out, and the couches being placed in order, their chieftain lay down, and began to

feast. Presently all the rest, thinking no more of fighting or of the enemy, did the same; and being unaccustomed to any sort of rich food, they greedily gorged themselves with meat and wine.

III. Affairs among the Romans wore a very different aspect. There was nothing but confusion both on land and sea; the mariners struck their tents, and hastily conveyed on board the provisions which had been sent on shore; the soldiers in a panic pressed into the boats, and even into the water. The seamen were in fear lest their vessels should be overcrowded, so that some of them opposed the entrance of the multitude, while others pushed off into the deep. Hence arose a dispute, and in a short time a fight, not without wounds and loss of lives, both of soldiers and seamen; until, by order of the consul, the fleet was removed to a distance from the shore. He next set about separating the armed from the unarmed; and, out of so large a number, he hardly found twelve hundred who had preserved their arms: very few horsemen who had brought their horses with them; while the rest formed only an irregular ill-looking throng, like servants and sutlers, and would certainly have fallen a prey to the enemy, had they thought of pursuing their advantage. At length an express was dispatched to call in the third legion and the foragers; and at the same time the troops began to march back from all parts, in order to retake the camp, and repair their disgrace. The military tribunes of the third legion ordered their men to throw away the forage and wood, and the centurions to mount two elderly soldiers on horses from which the loads were thrown, each horseman taking a young foot-soldier behind him. He told them, "it would "reflect great honour on their legion, if they should recover, "by bravery, the camp which had been lost by the cowardice "of the second; and that this might be easily effected, if the "barbarians were surprised while busied in plundering. In

" like manner as they had taken it, so might it be retaken." His exhortation was received by the army with tokens of the utmost alacrity ; the standards advanced with speed, nor did the soldiers give any delay to the standard-bearers. The consul, and the troops that went back from the shore, reached the rampart first. Lucius Atius, first tribune of the second legion, not only urged on his men, but told them, that " if " the Istrians meant to retain the camp which they had taken " by the same arms which gave them possession of it, they " would, in the first place, have pursued their enemy to the " sea ; and, in the next place, they would certainly have sta- " tioned guards outside the rampart ; and that, in all proba- " bility, they were lying in sleep, or drowned in wine."

IV. Saying this, he ordered his own standard-bearer, Aulus Bæculonius, a man of known bravery, to bear in the standard ; who replied, that if the men were willing to follow him, he would throw it in. Then, exerting all his strength, he threw the standard across the entrenchment, and was the first that entered the gate. At this juncture arrived, on the other side, Titus Ælius and Caius Ælius, military tribunes of the third legion, with their cavalry ; and, quickly after them, the soldiers whom they had mounted in pairs on the beasts of burden ; also the consul, with the main body. As to the Istrians, a few, who were not quite so much intoxicated as the rest, had sense enough left to fly ; death perpetuated the sleep of the others ; and the Romans recovered all their effects unimpaired, except the victuals and wine which had been consumed. The soldiers, too, who had been left sick in the camp, when they saw their countrymen within the trenches, snatched up arms, and committed great slaughter. Caius Popilius, surnamed Sabellus, a horseman, distinguished himself on this occasion above all the rest. He had been left behind in the camp, on account of a wound in his foot, notwithstanding which he did much greater execution among the enemy than

any other. Eight thousand Istrians were killed, but not one prisoner taken; for rage and indignation had made the Romans regardless of booty. The King of the Istrians, though in a state of ebriety, was hastily mounted on a horse by his people, and effected his escape. Of the conquerors there were lost two hundred and thirty-seven men; more of whom fell in the fight in the morning, than in the retaking of the camp.

V. It happened that Cneius and Lucius Cavillius, with recruits lately enlisted at Aquileia, coming with a convoy of provisions, and not knowing what had passed, were very near going into the camp after it was taken by the Istrians. These men then, leaving their baggage, and flying back to Aquileia, caused a general consternation and alarm, not only there, but, in a few days after, at Rome also; for there it was reported, not only that the camp was taken, and that the troops ran away, as was really the case, but that the whole army was entirely cut off. Wherefore, as usual in cases of uncommon danger, extraordinary levies were ordered by proclamation, both in the city and throughout all Italy. Two legions of Roman citizens were raised, and the Latine allies were ordered to furnish ten thousand foot and five hundred horse. The consul Marcus Junius was sent into Gaul, to demand from the several states of that province, whatever number of troops each was able to supply. At the same time it was mentioned in the decree, that Tiberius Claudius, the prætor, should issue orders for the fourth legion, and five thousand foot and two hundred and fifty horse, of the Latines, to assemble at Pisæ; that, with this force, he should guard that province during the consul's absence: and that Marcus Titinius, prætor, should order the first legion, and an equal number of allied foot and horse, to meet at Ariminum. Nero, habited in general's robes, set out for Pisæ, the province allotted him. Titinius, sending Caius Cassius, military tribune, to Ariminum, to command the legion there, employed himself in rais-

ing soldiers in Rome. The consul Marcus Junius, (passing over from Liguria into the province of Gaul, and, as he went along, collecting auxiliaries from the Gallic states, and recruits from the colonies,) came to Aquileia. There he learned that the army was safe; wherefore, after dispatching a letter to Rome, to put an end to the alarm, he sent home the Gallic auxiliaries, and proceeded himself to join his colleague. The unexpected news caused great joy at Rome; the levies were stopped, the soldiers who had been enlisted and sworn were discharged, and the troops at Ariminum, who were afflicted with a pestilential sickness, were remanded home. The Istrians, who, with a numerous force, were encamped at no great distance from the consul, when they understood that the other consul was arrived with a new army, dispersed and returned to their several states; when the consuls led back their legions into winter-quarters at Aquileia.

VI. The alarm caused by the affairs of Istria being at length composed, the senate passed an order, that the consuls should settle between themselves which of them should come to Rome, to preside at the elections. Two plebeian tribunes, Aulus Licinius Narva and Caius Papirius Turdus, in their harangues to the people, uttered severe reflections on Manlius, then abroad; and proposed the passing of an order, that although the government of their provinces had already been continued to the consuls for a year, yet Manlius should not hold command beyond the ides of March; in order that he might immediately, on the expiration of his office, be brought to trial. Against this proposition, Quintus Ælius, another tribune, protested; and, after violent struggles, prevailed so far, as to prevent its being passed. About this time, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus and Lucius Postumius Albinus came home from Spain. The prætor Marcus Titinius gave them an audience of the senate, in the temple

of Bellona, that they might represent their services; and demand such honours as they merited, together with a thanksgiving to the immortal gods. At the same time arrived a letter from Titus Æbutius, the prætor, brought by his son to the senate, informing them of great commotions in Sardinia; that the Ilians, having procured aid of the Balarians, had made an inroad into the peaceable part of the province; and that it was not possible to make head against them with a feeble army, whose numbers were greatly diminished by an epidemic sickness. Ambassadors from the Sardinians made the same representations, and besought the senate to send relief to their cities; for as to the country, it was already entirely ruined. This embassy, and every thing relative to Sardinia, was referred to the new magistrates. An embassy from the Lycians, no less entitled to commiseration, complained of the cruel treatment which they suffered from the Rhodians, to whose government they had been annexed by Lucius Cornelius Scipio. "They had formerly," they said, "been under the dominion of Antiochus; and "their bondage under that King, compared to their present "condition, appeared an honourable state of liberty; that "they were not only oppressed by acts of government, but "individuals underwent every suffering, as if really slaves. "That themselves, their wives, and children, were abused "alike by them; cruelties were practised on their persons, "while the vilest aspersions and calumnies were cast on "their character. They were openly treated with con-"temptuous insults, merely for the purpose of exercising an "usurped prerogative, and to show that no distinction was "made between them and purchased slaves." The senate was highly displeased at such proceedings, and gave the Lycians a letter to the Rhodians, acquainting them, that "it "was the will of the senate, that neither the Lycians should "be subjected to the Rhodians as slaves, nor any other free-

" born people be reduced to such a state; but that the Ly-
" cians should be under the government, and, at the same
" time, the protection of the Rhodians, in like manner as the
" allied states were subjected to the Roman people."

VII. Two triumphs for conquests in Spain were then successively celebrated. First, Sempronius Gracchus triumphed over the Celtiberians and their allies; next day, Lucius Postumius, over the Lusitanians, and the other Spaniards in that quarter. Tiberius Gracchus carried in the procession twenty thousand pounds weight of silver, Albinus forty thousand. They distributed to each of their soldiers twenty-five denariuses,* double to a centurion, triple to a horseman; the same sums to the allied troops as to the Roman. The consul Marcus Junius happened to arrive at Rome at this time from Istria, in order to hold the elections. The plebeian tribunes, Papirius and Licinius, after harassing him in the senate, with questions relative to what had passed in Istria, brought him into the assembly of the people. To their inquiries, the consul answered, that " he had been not more
" than eleven days in that province; and that, as to what had
" happened when he was not present, his information, like
" their own, rested on report." But they still proceeded to ask, " why, then, did not Manlius rather come to Rome,
" that he might account to the Roman people for his having
" quitted Gaul, the province allotted to him, and gone into
" Istria? When had the senate decreed a war with that na-
" tion? When had the people ordered it? But he will say,
" ' Though the war was indeed undertaken by private authori-
" ty, yet it was conducted with prudence and courage.' On the
" contrary, it is impossible to say, whether the impropriety
" in undertaking it, or the misconduct in the carrying it on,
" was greater. Two advanced guards were surprised by the

* 16s. 1½d.

" Istrians ; a Roman camp was taken, with whatever infantry " and cavalry were in it ; the rest, in disorder, without arms, " and among the foremost the consul himself, fled to the " shore and the ships. But he should answer for all these " matters when he became a private citizen, since he had " avoided it while consul."

VIII. The elections were then held, in which Caius Claudius Pulcher and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus were chosen consuls. Next day, the following persons were elected prætors, Publius Ælius Tubero, a second time, Caius Quintius Flamininus, Caius Numisius, Lucius Mummius, Cneius Cornelius Scipio, and Publius Valerius Lævinus. The city jurisdiction fell, by lot, to Tubero ; the foreign, to Quintius ; Sicily, to Numisius ; and Sardinia, to Mummius ; but this last, on account of the importance of the war there, was made a consular province, and bestowed on Gracchus. The lots gave Istria to Claudius ; and Gaul, divided into two provinces, to Scipio and Lævinus. On the ides of March, the day when Sempronius and Claudius assumed the administration, a cursory mention only was made of the provinces of Sardinia and of Istria, and of those who had commenced hostilities there ; but on the day following, the ambassadors of the Sardinians, who had been referred to the new magistrates, were introduced, and Lucius Minucius Thermus, lieutenant-general under the consul Manlius in Istria, attended ; and from them the senate learned the real state of the war in those provinces. The attention of the senate was also attracted by ambassadors from the confederate states of Latium, who, after having ineffectually applied to the former consuls and censors, were at last introduced to an audience. They came with complaints, the amount of which was, that " their citizens, having been " rated in the general survey at Rome, had, most of them, " removed thither ; and that, if this practice were allowed,

Y.R. 575. B.C. 177.

" it would come to pass, in the course of a very few lustrums, " that their towns, and even their country, would be so de- " serted as to be unable to furnish any soldiers." The Samnites and the Pelignians also represented, that four thousand families had emigated to Fregellæ: and that in the levying of soldiers their quota was not lessened, nor that of the others increased on this account. That there had been practised two species of fraud in the method of an individual quitting one state to become a member of another: there was a law, which granted liberty to any of the allies or Latines, who should not leave his offspring at home, to be enrolled a citizen of Rome; yet, by a perversion of this law, some did injury to the allies, others to the Roman people. For, first, to evade the leaving offspring at home, they made over their children as slaves to some Roman, under an agreement that they should be again set free, and thus become citizens by emancipation; and then those men, who had now no children to leave, became Roman citizens. Afterwards, they neglected even these appearances of conformity to law; and, without any regard either to the ordinances or to progeny, passed indiscriminately into the Roman state by migration, getting themselves included in the survey. To prevent such proceedings in future, the ambassadors requested the senate to order the allies to return to their respective states, and to provide by a law, that " no " one should acquire a property in any man's person, or alien- " ate such property for the purpose of that man's enfranchise- " ment, in any other state than his own; and that if any per- " son should by such means be made a citizen of Rome, he " should not enjoy the rights of a citizen."

IX. The senate granted their petitions; and then proceeded on the business of Sardinia and Istria, the provinces which were in a state of war. It was ordered, that two legions should be raised for Sardinia, each containing five thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse; and of the al-

lies and Latines, twelve thousand foot and six hundred horse; and that the consul should take ten ships, of five banks of oars, out of any docks he chose. The same numbers of infantry and cavalry were decreed for Istria as for Sardinia. The consuls were ordered to send into Spain, to Marcus Titinius, one legion, with three hundred horse, and five thousand foot, and three hundred horse of the allies. Before the consuls cast lots for their provinces, several prodigies were reported: that, in the Crustumine territory, a stone fell from the sky into the grove of Mars; that, in the Roman territory, a boy was born defective in his limbs; that a serpent with four feet had been seen; that at Capua, many buildings in the Forum were struck by lightning; and, at Puteoli, two ships were burned by lightning. While these prodigies were reported from abroad, one happened in Rome itself; for a wolf, having come in through the Colline gate in the middle of the day, was, for a long time, driven about through the city, and at length, though pursued by great multitudes, escaped through the Esquiline. On account of these prodigies, the consuls sacrificed victims of the larger kinds, and there was a supplication, for one day, at all the shrines. When the sacrifices were duly performed, they cast lots for their provinces; when Istria fell to Claudius, Sardinia to Sempronius. Then Caius Claudius, by direction of the senate, procured a law to be passed respecting the allies, and issued a proclamation, that "any of the allies and Latine confederates, who, themselves, or whose ancestors, had been surveyed among the associated states of Latium in the censorship of Marcus Claudius and Titus Quintius, or at any time since, should all return, each to his respective state, before the calends of November." Lucius Mummius, the prætor, was commissioned to make inquiry concerning such as did not obey. To the law, and the proclamation of the consul, was added a decree of the senate, that "the dictator,

" consul, interrex, censor, or prætor, for the time being, be-
" fore whom any slave should be brought, to receive manu-
" mission, should cause the said slave so to be discharged, to
" make oath, that the person giving him liberty did not do it
" for the purpose of his being admitted a citizen of any state,
" of which he was not already a member;" and any one refusing this oath, the decree ordered, should not be manumitted. The cognizance and jurisdiction in this business, for the future, was assigned to Caius Claudius the consul.

X. While these matters passed at Rome, Marcus Junius and Aulus Manlius, the consuls of the preceding year, after remaining during winter at Aquileia, led their army, early in the spring, into the Istrian territories, and spread their depredations through a great part of the country; on which the Istrians, rather out of grief and indignation at seeing their property plundered, than from any well-grounded hope of being able to make head against these joint forces, flew to arms. They hastily assembled their young men, who ran together from all their cantons; and this raw and tumultuary army made its first onset with more vigour than it was able steadily to support. Four thousand of them were slain in the field; and the rest, renouncing all thoughts of farther opposition, dispersed and fled to their homes. Soon after, they sent ambassadors to the Roman camp to sue for peace, and then delivered up the hostages required of them. When these transactions were made known at Rome, by letters from the proconsul, Caius Claudius, the consul, began to fear that this proceeding might, perhaps, take the province and the army out of his hands; and therefore, without offering vows, without assuming the military habit, and unaccompanied by his lictors, having acquainted his colleague alone with his intention, he set out in the night, and with the utmost speed hastened to the province, where he conducted himself even with less prudence than he had shown in coming. For, in an as-

sembly which he called, after making severe remarks on Manlius's running away from the camp, which were very offensive to the ears of the soldiers, as they themselves had begun the flight; and, after railing at Marcus Junius, as having made himself a sharer in the disgrace of his colleague, he at last ordered both of them to quit the province. They replied, that when the consul should come, in the regular manner, agreeably to ancient practice; when he should set out from the city, after offering vows in the Capitol, attended by his lictors, and dressed in the military habit, then they would obey his orders. This threw him into such a furious rage, that he called the person who acted as quæstor to Manlius, and ordered him to bring fetters, threatening to send Junius and Manlius to Rome in chains. This man, too, slighted the consul's command; and the surrounding crowd of soldiers, who favoured the cause of their commanders, and were incensed against Claudius, supplied him with resolution to refuse obedience. At last the consul, overpowered by the reproaches of individuals and the scoffs of the multitude, for they even turned him into ridicule, went back to Aquileia in the ship that had brought him. From thence he wrote to his colleague, desiring him to give notice to that part of the new raised troops, who were enlisted for Istria, to assemble at Aquileia, in order that he should have no delay at Rome, but set out, as soon as the ceremony of offering vows was finished, in the military habit. These directions his colleague punctually executed, and a short day was appointed for the assembling of the troops. Claudius almost overtook his own letter. On his arrival he called an assembly, that he might represent the conduct of Manlius and Junius; and, staying only three days in Rome, he offered his vows in the Capitol, put on the military habit, and, attended by his lictors, set out to his province with the same rapid speed which he had used in the former journey.

XI. A few days before his arrival, Junius and Manlius had laid vigorous siege to the town of Nesartium, in which the principal Istrians, and Epulo their King, had shut themselves up. Claudius, bringing thither the two new legions, dismissed the old army, with its commanders; invested the town himself; and prosecuted the siege with regular works. A river which flowed on the outside of the wall, and greatly impeded the proceedings of the besiegers, while it supplied the besieged with a convenience of water, he, with many days labour, turned out of its course, and conveyed away in another channel. This event, of the water being cut off, terrified the Barbarians, as if effected by some supernatural power; yet still they entertained no thoughts of peace, but set about killing their wives and children; exhibiting a spectacle shocking even to their enemies; and, after putting them to death in open view on the walls, tumbled them down. During this horrid carnage, the soldiers, scaling the walls, effected an entrance into the town. As soon as their King heard the uproar, and understood, from the cries of terror uttered by the flying inhabitants, that the place was captured, he plunged his sword into his breast, that he might not be taken alive: the rest were either killed or made prisoners. After this, two other towns, Mutila and Faveria, were stormed and destroyed. The booty, which exceeded expectation, considering the poverty of the nation, was all given up to the soldiers. Five thousand six hundred and thirty-two persons were sold by auction, and the fomenters of the war were beaten with rods, and beheaded. By the destruction of these three towns, and the death of the King, the whole country of Istria was brought to terms of peace; every one of its states giving hostages, and submitting to the dominion of the Romans.

XII. For some time before the conclusion of the war of Istria, the Ligurians had begun to hold consultations about

the renewal of hostilities. Tiberius Claudius, proconsul, who had been consul the year before, at the head of one legion, posted at Pisæ, held the government of that province. He gave information to the senate, by letter, of their proceedings; and they ordered, that "the same letter should "be carried to Caius Claudius," for Gracchus had already crossed over into Sardinia; and they added a decree, that, peace being established in the province of Istria, he should, if he thought proper, lead his army into Liguria. At the same time, a supplication for two days was decreed, in consequence of the account given by the consul, in his letter, of his services performed in Istria. The other consul, Sempronius, likewise, was successful in his operations in Sardinia. He carried his army into the territory of the Ilian tribe of Sardinians, who had received a powerful reinforcement from the Balarians. He fought a pitched battle against the combined forces of the two states, defeated and put them to flight, and made himself master of their camp, having killed twelve thousand of their men. Next day, the consul ordered their arms to be gathered into a heap and burned, as an offering to Vulcan. He then led back his victorious troops into winter-quarters in the allied cities. Caius Claudius, on receipt of the letter of Tiberius Claudius, and the decree of the senate, marched his legions out of Istria into Liguria. The enemy, having advanced into the plains, were encamped on the river Scultenna: here a pitched battle was fought, in which fifteen thousand of the enemy were killed, and about seven hundred captured in the fight, and in the camp, for that too was stormed; and also fifty-one military standards were taken. The Ligurians who survived, fled back into the mountains; the consul ravaged all the low country, but met, nowhere, any appearance of arms. Claudius, having thus in one year subdued two nations, and, what

has rarely been achieved in a single consulate, completed the reduction of two provinces, came home to Rome.

XIII. Several prodigies were reported this year: that at Crustuminum, a kind of vulture, which they call the Blood-sucker, cut a sacred stone with its beak; that a cow spoke, in Campania; that, at Syracuse, a brazen statue of a cow was mounted by a farmer's bull, which had strayed from the herd. A supplication of one day was performed in Crustuminum, on the spot; the cow in Campania was ordered to be maintained at the public expense, and the prodigy at Syracuse was expiated according to directions given by the aruspices, respecting the deities to whom supplications should be offered. This year died, in the office of pontiff, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, who had been consul and censor; and his son, Marcus Marcellus, was chosen into the vacant place. The same year a colony of two thousand Roman citizens was settled at Luna, under the care of Publius Ælius, Lucius Egilius, and Cneius Sicinius, who allotted to each fifty-one acres and a half of land. This land had been taken from the Ligurians, and had been the property of the Etrurians, before it fell into their possession. Caius Claudius, consul, arrived at the city, and, after laying before the senate a detail of his successful services in Istria and Liguria, demanded a triumph, which was granted. He triumphed, in office, over the two nations at once. In this procession he carried three hundred and seven thousand denariuses,* and eighty-five thousand seven hundred and two quinariuses.† To each soldier he gave fifteen denariuses,‡ double to a centurion, triple to a horseman. The allied soldiers received less, by half, than the native troops, for which reason they followed his chariot in silence, to show their disgust.

XIV. While this triumphing over the Ligurians was cele-

* 9,914l. 0s. 10d. † 1,325l. 12s. 1d. ‡ 9s. 8d.

brated, that people, perceiving that not only the consular army returned to Rome, but also that the legion at Pisæ had been disbanded by Tiberius Claudius, laid aside their fears, and, collecting an army, secretly crossed the mountains by winding paths, and came down into the plains; where, after ravaging the lands of Mutina, by a sudden assault they gained possession of the city itself. When an account of this was brought to Rome, the senate ordered Caius Claudius, the consul, to hold the elections as soon as possible, and (after appointing magistrates for the ensuing year) to go back to his province, and rescue the colony out of the hands of the enemy. The elections were held as the senate had directed; and Cneius Cornelius Scipio Hispalus, with Quintus Petillius Spurinus, were chosen consuls. Then were elected prætors, Marcus Popillius Lænas, Publius Licinius Crassus, Marcus Cornelius Scipio, Lucius Papirius Maso, Marcus Aburius, and Lucius Aquilius Gallus. Caius Claudius, consul, was continued in command for a year in the province of Gaul; and he was ordered, lest the Istrians should follow the example of the Ligurians, to send into Istria the allied Latine troops, which he had brought home to attend his triumph.

Y.R.576. B.C.176. When the consuls, Cneius Cornelius and Quintus Petillius, on the day of entering into office, sacrificed each an ox to Jupiter, according to custom, the head of the liver was not found in the victim sacrificed by Petillius; which being reported to the senate, he was ordered to sacrifice other oxen, until he should find the omens favourable. The senate then proceeded to the disposal of the provinces, when Pisæ and Liguria were decreed to the consuls. It was further decreed, that he to whose lot Pisæ fell, should, at the time of the elections, come home to preside at them; and that they should severally enlist two new legions, and three hundred horse; and should order the allies, and Latine confederates, to furnish ten thousand foot and six

hundred horse to each. Tiberius Claudius was continued in command until such time as the consul should arrive in the province.

XV. While the senate was employed in these affairs, Caius Cornelius, being called by a messenger, went out of the senate-house; and, after a short time, returned with a troubled countenance, and told the Conscript Fathers, that the liver of a fat ox, which he had sacrificed, had melted away; that when this was told to him by the person who dressed the victims, he did not believe it, but went himself and ordered the water to be poured out of the vessel in which the entrails were boiled; when he saw all entire but the liver, which had been unaccountably consumed. While the Fathers were under much terror on account of this prodigy, their alarm was augmented by the other consul, who informed them, that, on account of the first victim having wanted the head of the liver, he had sacrificed three oxen, and had not yet found favourable omens. The senate ordered him to continue sacrificing the larger victims, until he should find the desired tokens. It is said, that the victims offered to the other deities, at length presented good omens; but that in those offered to Health, Petillius could find none such. Then the consuls and prætors cast lots for their provinces, when Pisæ fell to Cneius Cornelius; Liguria to Petillius. Of the prætors, Luclus Papirius Maso obtained the city jurisdiction; Marcus Abutius, the foreign; Marcus Cornelius Scipio Maluginensis, the Farther Spain; Lucius Aquilius Gallus, Sicily. Two of them petitioned to be excused from going into their provinces. First, Marcus Popillius requested he might not be obliged to go to Sardinia, alleging, that, "Gracchus was "bringing that province into a state of tranquillity; that the "senate had assigned him the prætor Titus Æbutius, as an "assistant; and that it was by no means expedient to inter-"rupt the train of business, for the completion of which there

" was no method so efficacious as the continuing the manage-
" ment in the same hands; for, between the transferring of
" the command, and the successor coming (a stranger to the
" business of the province), it often happened, that very fa-
" vourable opportunities were lost." The excuse of Popilius was admitted. Then Publius Licinius Bassus alleged, that he was prevented from going into his province by solemn sacrifices, necessary to be performed. That which had fallen to his lot was the Hither Spain. But he was ordered either to proceed thither, or to swear, in the public assembly, that he was hindered by the performance of solemn anniversary sacrifices. When this determination was made in the case of Publius Licinius, Marcus Cornelius demanded that his oath, of the like import, might be admitted as an excuse for his not going into the Farther Spain. Both the prætors accordingly took an oath in the same words. It was ordered, that Marcus Titinius and Titus Fonteius, proconsuls, should remain in Spain, with authority as before; and that a reinforcement should be sent to them, of three thousand Roman foot, with three hundred horse; and five hundred Latine foot, with three hundred horse.

XVI. The Latine festival was celebrated on the third day before the nones of May;* and because, on the offering of one of the victims, the magistrate had not prayed for the ROMAN PEOPLE, THE QUIRITES, a scruple arose concerning the validity of the performance. The matter being laid before the senate, and referred by them to the college of pontiffs, the the latter determined, that the Latine festival had not been duly performed, and must be repeated; and that the Lanuvians, who had given cause for the repetition, should furnish the victims. Besides the concern, excited by matters of a religious nature, another incident caused no small degree of

* 5th May.

uneasiness. The consul Cneius. Cornelius, as he was returning from the Alban mount, fell down, and lost the use of one half of his limbs; he was carried to the waters of Cumæ, where, his disorder still increasing, he died. His body was conveyed to Rome to be buried, and the funeral obsequies were performed with great magnificence: he was likewise a pontiff. The other consul, Quintus Petillius, was ordered to hold an assembly, as soon as the auspices could be taken, for the election of a consul in the room of his late colleague, and to proclaim the Latine festival. Accordingly, by proclamation, he fixed the election for the third day before the nones of August,* and the Latine festival for the third before the ides of the same month.† While people's minds were much troubled, from the apprehension of the displeasure of the gods; to add thereto, several prodigies were reported to have happened: that a blazing torch was seen in the sky at Tusculum; that the temple of Apollo, and many private buildings, at Gabii, and a wall and gate at Graviscæ, were struck by lightning. The senate ordered these to be expiated as the pontiffs should direct. While the consuls were detained, at first by religious ceremonies, and afterwards, one of them, by the death of the other, and then by the election and the repetition of the Latine festival, Caius Claudius marched the army to Mutina, which the Ligurians had taken the year before. Within three days from the commencement of the siege he retook it, and delivered it back to the colonists: on this occasion eight thousand Ligurians were killed within the walls. He immediately dispatched a letter to Rome, in which he not only represented this success, but likewise boasted, that, through his good conduct and good fortune, there was not one enemy of the Roman people left on this side the Alps; and that a large tract of land had been taken, sufficient,

* 3d August. † 11th August.

if distributed in shares, for the accommodation of many thousand people.

XVII. During the same period, Tiberius Sempronius, after gaining many victories, and killing fifteen thousand of the enemy, totally subdued the people of Sardinia, and reduced, under the Roman dominion, every state in the island that had revolted. On those which had formerly been tributary, double taxes were imposed and levied; the rest paid a contribution in corn. When he had thus restored peace in the province, and received hostages from all parts of the island, to the number of two hundred and thirty, he sent deputies to Rome, to give information of these transactions, and to request of the senate, that in consideration of those services, performed under the conduct and auspices of Tiberius Sempronius, a thanksgiving might be offered to the immortal gods, and permission granted him to quit the province, and bring home the army with him. The senate gave audience to the deputies in the temple of Apollo, ordered a thanksgiving for two days, and that the consuls should sacrifice forty victims of the larger kinds; but commanded the proconsul, Tiberius Sempronius, and his army, to continue in the province for the year. Then the election for filling the vacant place of a consul, which had been fixed by proclamation for the third day before the nones of August,* was finished in one day, and the consul Quintus Petillius declared Caius Valerius Lævinus duly elected his colleague, who was to assume immediately the administration of his office. This man had been long ambitious of the government of a province, and, very seasonably for the gratification of his wishes, a letter now arrived with intelligence, that the Ligurians were again in arms. Wherefore, on the nones of August,† he assumed the military habit; and ordered that, on account of this alarm, the third legion should

* 3d August. † 5th August.

march into Gaul, and join Caius Claudius, proconsul, and that the commanders of the fleet should sail with their ships to Pisæ, and coast along the Ligurian shore, to terrify that people by the sight of a naval power also. The other consul, Quintus Petillius, had appointed a day for his troops to assemble in the same place. On the other hand, Caius Claudius, proconsul, on hearing of the rebellion in Liguria, hastily collected some soldiers, in addition to those whom he had with him at Parma, and with this force marched to the frontiers of Liguria.

XVIII. On the approach of Caius Claudius, the enemy, reflecting that this was the same commander who had defeated them at the river Scultenna, resolved to rely on situation, rather than arms, for their defence against a force with which they had so unsuccessfully struggled. With this design, they took post on two mountains, called Letum and Balista; and, for greater security, they surrounded their encampment with a wall. Some, who were too slow in removing from the low grounds, were surprised, and put to the sword,—one thousand five hundred in number. The others kept themselves close on the mountains; and retaining, in the midst of their fears, their native savage disposition, vented their fury on the prey taken at Mutina. The prisoners they mangled in a shocking manner, and put to death; the cattle they butchered in the temples, rather than decently sacrificed; and then, (satiated with the destruction of living creatures,) they turned their fury against things inanimate, dashing against the walls even vessels made for use, rather than for show. Quintus Petillius, the consul, fearing that the war might be brought to a conclusion before he arrived in the province, wrote to Caius Claudius to bring the army into Gaul, saying, that he would wait for him at the Long Plains. Claudius, immediately on receipt of the letter, marched out of Liguria, and at the appointed place gave up the command of

the army to the consul. To these plains came, in a few days after, the other consul Caius Valerius. Here they agreed on a division of their forces; but before they separated, both together performed a purification of the troops. They then cast lots for their routes, it having been resolved that they should not assail the enemy on the same side. Valerius clearly performed his part of the ceremony with propriety; but with regard to Petillius, as the augurs afterwards pronounced, the procedure was faulty, for he was not in the consecrated place when he put his lot into the urn, which was afterwards carried in. They then began their march in different directions; Petillius led his troops against the ridge of Balista and Letum, which joined the two together with one continued range, and encamped at the foot of it. We are told, that, while he was here encouraging his soldiers, whom he had assembled for the purpose, without reflecting on the ambiguity of the word, he uttered this ominous expression: "Before night I will have Letum."* He made his troops march up the mountain in two places at the same time. The division, where he commanded in person, advanced briskly; the other was repulsed by the enemy; and the consul riding up thither, to remedy the disorder, rallied indeed his troops, but exposing himself too carelessly in the front, was pierced through with a javelin, and fell. The commanders of the enemy did not know that he was killed; and the few of his own party, who saw the disaster, carefully covered the body from view, knowing that, on the concealment of what had happened, the victory depended. The rest of the troops, horse and foot, though deprived of their leader, dislodged the enemy, and took possession of the mountains. Five thousand of the Ligurians were slain, and of the Roman army only fifty-two were lost. Besides this evident completion of the

* Lethum, the name of the place, in the Latin language, signifies death.

unhappy omen, the keeper of the chickens was heard to say, that there had been a defect in the auspices, and that the consul was not ignorant of it. Caius Valerius, *when he was informed of the death of Quintus Petillius, made the army, thus bereft of its commander, join his own; then, attacking the enemy again, he shed copious streams of their blood, to appease the shade of his departed colleague. He had the honour of a triumph over the Ligurians. The legion, at whose head the consul was killed, was severely punished by the senate; their year's pay was stopped, and that campaign was not allowed in their number, for not exposing themselves to the enemy's weapons in defence of their commander. About this time ambassadors came to Rome from the Dardanians, who were greatly distressed by the numerous army of Bastarnians, under Clondicus, mentioned above. These ambassadors, after describing the vast multitude of the Bastarnians, their tall and huge bodies, and their daring intrepidity in facing danger, added, that there was an alliance between them and Perseus, and that the Dardanians were really more afraid of him than even of the Bastarnians; and therefore begged of the senate to send them assistance. The senate thereupon agreed, that ambassadors should be sent to examine into the affairs of Macedonia; and Aulus Postumius was immediately commissioned to go thither. The colleagues joined with him were some young men, that he might have the principal direction and management of the embassy. The senate then took into consideration the election of magistrates for the ensuing year, on which subject there was a long debate; for* people skilled in the rules of religion and politics affirmed, that, as the regular consuls of the year had died, one by the sword, the other by sickness, the substituted consul was not qualified to hold the elections. *An interregnum, therefore, took place, and the interrex elected consuls Publius Mucius Scævola, and Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, a second time.* Y.R.577. B.C.175.

Then were chosen prætors, Caius Popillius Lænas, Titus Annius Luscus, Caius Memmius Gallus, Caius Cluvius Saxula, Servius Cornelius Sulla, and Appius Claudius Centho. The provinces assigned to the consuls were Gaul and Liguria. Of the prætorian provinces, Sardinia fell to Cornelius Sulla, and Hither Spain to Claudius Centho; but how the rest were distributed is not known. There was a great mortality of cattle this year. The Ligurians, a nation ever vanquished, yet ever rebelling, ravaged the lands of Luna and Pisæ; and at the same time there were alarming rumours of disturbances in Gaul. Lepidus easily quelled the commotions among the Gauls, and then marched into Liguria. Several states of this country submitted themselves to his disposal; and he, supposing that the rugged face of the mountains, which they inhabited, contributed to the ferocity of their tempers, followed the example of some former consuls, and brought them down into the plains. Of these the Garulians, Lapicinians, and Hercatians, had lived on the hither side of the Appennine, and the Brincatians on the farther side.

XIX. On the hither side of the river Audena, Quintus Mucius made war on those who had wasted the lands of Luna and Pisæ, reduced them all to subjection, and stripped them of their arms. On account of these services, performed under the conduct and auspices of the two consuls, the senate voted a thanksgiving for three days, and sacrifices of forty victims. The commotions which broke out in Gaul and Liguria, at the beginning of this year, were thus speedily suppressed, without any great difficulty; but the apprehensions of the public, respecting a war with Macedonia, still continued. For Perseus laboured to embroil the Bastarnians with the Dardanians; and the ambassadors, sent to examine into the state of affairs in Macedonia, returned to Rome, and brought certain information, that hostilities had commenced in Dardania. At the same time, came envoys from King

Perseus, with assurances, that he had neither invited the Bastarnians, nor countenanced any of their proceedings. The senate neither acquitted the King of the imputation, nor urged it against him; they only ordered warning to be given him, to be very careful to show, that he considered the treaty between him and the Romans as inviolable. The Dardanians, perceiving that the Bastarnians, so far from quitting their country, as they had hoped, became daily more troublesome, as they were supported by the neighbouring Thracians and Scordiscians, thought it necessary to make some effort against them, though without any reasonable prospect of success. Accordingly, they assembled together in arms from all quarters, at the town that was nearest to the camp of the Bastarnians. It was now winter, and they chose that season of the year, as supposing that the Thracians and Scordiscians would return to their own countries. As soon as they heard that these were gone, and the Bastarnians left by themselves, they divided their forces into two parts, that one might march openly along the straight road to attack the enemy; and that the other, going round through a wood, which lay out of sight, might assault them on the rear. But, before these could arrive at the enemy's post, the fight commenced, and the Dardanians were beaten, and pursued to the town, which was about twelve miles from the Bastarnian camp. The victors immediately invested the place, not doubting that, on the day following, either the enemy would surrender it, or they might take it by storm. Meanwhile, the other body of Dardanians, which had gone round, not having heard of the defeat of their countrymen, *easily* possessed themselves of the camp of the Bastarnians, which had been left without a guard. *The Bastarnians, thus deprived of all their provisions and warlike stores, and having no means of replacing them in a hostile country and at that unfavourable season, resolved to return to their native home. When they arrived at the Da-*

nube, they found it, to their great joy, covered with ice so thick as to seem capable of sustaining any weight. But, when it came to be pressed under the immense weight of the whole body of men and cattle, crowding together in their haste, after supporting the burthen for a long time, it suddenly split into numberless pieces, and plunged the entire multitude in the deep. The greatest part were instantly swallowed up; many, striving to swim out, were sunk by the fragments of the ice, and a very few escaped to either bank, none without being severely cut or bruised. About this time, Antiochus, son to Antiochus the Great, who had been for a long time a hostage at Rome, came into possession of the kingdom of Syria, on the death of his brother Seleucus. For Seleucus, whom the Greeks call Philopator, having received the kingdom of Syria greatly debilitated by the misfortunes of his father, during a reign of twelve years never distinguished himself by any memorable enterprise; and, at this time, called home from Rome this his younger brother, sending, in his stead, his own son Demetrius, according to the terms of the treaty, which allowed the changing of the hostages from time to time. Antiochus had but just reached Athens on his way, when Seleucus was murdered, in consequence of a conspiracy formed by Heliodorus, one of the nobles. This man aimed at the crown for himself, but was obliged to fly by Attalus and Eumenes, who put Antiochus in possession of it, expecting great advantages to themselves from having him bound to them in gratitude for a service so important. They now began to harbour some jealousy of the Romans, on account of several trifling causes of disgust. Antiochus was received by the people with such transports of joy, that they gave him the surname of Epiphanes, or Rising Star, because, when aliens to the royal blood were about to seize the throne, he appeared like a propitious star, to assert his hereditary right. He was not deficient in capacity or vigour of mind to make a figure in war; but

such perversity and indiscretion prevailed in his whole conduct and behaviour, that they soon changed the surname which they had given him, and instead of Epiphanes, called him Epimanes, or madman; for many were the acts of folly ar madness which he committed. He used frequently to go out, without the knowledge of any of his servants, clad in garments embroidered with gold; at one time to annoy the passengers, by throwing stones at them; at another to amuse himself by flinging handfuls of money among the crowd, to be scrambled for. He allowed himself to commit the most egregious follies and the vilest indecencies in common tippling houses and in the public baths; drinking with strangers, and mingling with the lowest of the people. Among many other instances of his folly, it is mentioned that he used to lay aside his royal robes, and put on a gown, as he had seen the candidates for office do at Rome, and then go about the Forum saluting and embracing each of the plebeians; soliciting at one time for the ædileship, at another for the plebeian tribuneship, until at last he obtained the office by the suffrages of the people, and then, according to the Roman custom, he took his seat in an ivory chair, where he heard causes, and listened to debates on the most trivial matters.

XX. He never thought of adhering to any rule, but rambled incessantly, adopting by turns, every kind of behaviour, insomuch, that no one could judge with certainty as to his real character. Sometimes he would not speak to his friends, nor scarcely afford a smile to his acquaintance. By a preposterous kind of liberality, he made himself and others subjects of ridicule; for to some, in the most elevated stations, and who thought highly of themselves, he would give childish presents of sweetmeats, cakes, or toys; while on others, who, having no claims, expected nothing, he would bestow large sums of money. Wherefore to many he appeared not to know what he was doing; some said that he acted from a silly sportive temper; others, that he was evidently mad. In two great

and honourable instances, however, he showed a spirit truly royal,—in the presents which he made to several cities, and the honour he paid to the gods. To the inhabitants of Megalopolis in Arcadia, he made a promise to build a wall round their city, and he gave them the greater part of the money requisite for the purpose. At Tegea he began to erect a magnificent theatre of marble. At Cyzicum, he presented a set of golden utensils for the service of one table in the Prytaneum, the state-room of the city, where such as are entitled to that honour dine together. To the Rhodians he gave presents of every kind that their convenience required, but none very remarkable. Of the magnificence of his notions, in every thing respecting the gods, the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens was of itself a sufficient testimony; being the only one in the world, the plan of which was suitable to the greatness of the deity. He likewise ornamented Delos with altars of extraordinary beauty, and abundance of statues. A magnificent temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which he promised to build at Antioch, of which not only the ceilings, but all the walls were to be covered with plates of gold, and many other edifices which he intended in various places he did not finish, as his reign was short. His magnificence in the exhibition of public shows, also surpassed that of all former kings, both by their uncommon splendour, usual in his own kingdom, and by the great number of Grecian performers. He gave a show of gladiators in the Roman manner, which at first, among a people unaccustomed to such sights, caused more terror than pleasure; but by frequently repeating them, sometimes permitting the combatants to go no farther than wounds, at other times to proceed to extremities, he rendered such kind of shows not only familiar to people's eyes, but even agreeable, and kindled in the young men a passion for arms; insomuch that, although, at the beginning, he was obliged to entice gladiators from Rome, by high rewards, *he soon found a suffi-*

cient number in his own dominions willing to perform for a moderate hire. The shows which he exhibited, formed, in every respect, a perfect contrast to his own character, which was a compound of every thing that was absurd and trifling: nothing could be more magnificent than these were: nothing more vile and contemptible than the King himself. To return, however, to the Roman affairs, from which the mention of this King has caused us to digress too far. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, after holding the government of Sardinia two years, resigned it to Servius Cornelius Sulla, the prætor, and, coming home to Rome, triumphed over the Sardinians. We are told that he brought such a multitude of captives from that island, that from the long continuance of the sale, "Sar-" dinians for sale," became a vulgar proverb, to denote things of little price. Both the consuls (Scævola and Lepidus) triumphed over the Ligurians; Lepidus over the Gauls also. Then were held the elections of magistrates for the ensuing year. Spurius Postumius Albinus and Quintus Mucius Scævola were chosen consuls. In the election of prætors, there happened a particular competition between Lucius or Cneius Cornelius Scipio, son of Publius Africanus, and Caius Cicereius, who had been his father's secretary. For, after five prætors had been declared, Caius Cassius Longinus, Publius Furius Philus, Lucius Claudius Asellus, Marcus Atilius Serranus, and Cneius Servilius Cæpio; although Scipio struggled hard to be admitted even in the last place, yet he was thought to have degenerated so far from the virtues of his father, that every one of the centuries would have given the preference to Cicereius, had not the latter, with singular modesty, withdrawn himself. He could not reconcile it to himself, that, in a disputed election, he should gain the victory over the son of his patron, but, immediately, throwing off the white gown, he became, from a competitor sure of success, the grateful friend and supporter of the interest of his

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rival. Thus, by the help of Cicereius, Scipio obtained a post which he would never have procured from the people, and which reflected greater honour on Cicereius than on himself.

XXI. *The provinces assigned to the consuls were Gaul and Liguria. On the prætors casting lots, the city jurisdiction fell to Caius Cassius Longinus*, and the foreign, to Lucius Cornelius Scipio. The province of Sardinia fell to Marcus Atilius, who was ordered to sail over to Corsica, with a new legion, raised by the consuls, consisting of five thousand foot and three hundred horse; and while he was engaged in carrying on the war there, Cornelius was continued in command, that he might hold the government of Sardinia. To Cneius Servilius Cæpio, for the service of the Farther Spain, and to Publius Furius Philus for that of the hither Spain, were assigned,—to each, three thousand Roman foot, with one hundred and fifty horse, and five thousand Latine foot with three hundred horse. Sicily was decreed to Lucius Claudius without any reinforcement. The consuls were ordered to levy two more legions, of the regular numbers in foot and horse, and to call on the allies for ten thousand foot and six hundred horse: but they met great difficulty in making the levies; for the pestilence which, the year before, had fallen on the cattle, in the present year attacked the human species. Such as were seized by it, seldom survived the seventh day; those who did survive, lingered under a tedious disorder, which generally turned to a quartan ague. The mortality was greatest among the slaves, of whom heaps lay unburied on all the roads. Nor were there conductors of funerals sufficient to bury even the people of free condition. The bodies were consumed by putrefaction, without being touched by the dogs or vultures; and it was universally observed, that, during that and the preceding year, while the mortality of cattle and men was so great, no vultures were any where seen. Of the public priests, there died, by this contagion, Cneius Ser-

vilius Cæpio, father of the prætor, a pontiff; Tiberius Sempronius Longus, son of Tiberius, decemvir of religious rites; Publius Ælius Pætus, and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, augurs; Caius Mamilius Vitulus, chief curio; and Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus, a pontiff. In the vacant places of pontiffs* were chosen Caius Sulpicius Galba, in the room of Tuditanus. New augurs were appointed, Titus Veturius Gracchus Sempronianus, in place of Gracchus; and Quintus Ælius Pætus, in place of Publius Ælius. Caius Sempronius Longus was made decemvir of religious rites, and Caius Scribonius Curio, chief curio. The plague continuing, the senate voted that the decemvirs should consult the Sibylline books; and, by their directions, a supplication of one day was performed; and the people, assembled in the forum, made a vow, in words dictated by Quintus Marcius Philippus, that "if the sickness and pestilence should be removed out of the Roman territory, they would solemnize a festival and thanksgiving of two days' continuance." In the district of Veii, a boy was born with two heads; at Sinuessa, one with a single hand; and at Oximum, a girl with teeth; in the middle of the day, the sky being perfectly clear, a rainbow was seen, stretching over the temple of Saturn, in the Roman Forum, and three suns shone at once; and, the following night, many lights were seen, gliding through the air, about Lanuvium. The people of Cære affirmed that there had appeared in their town a snake, with a mane, having its body marked with spots like gold; and it was fully proved, that an ox had spoken in Campania.

XXII. On the nones of June,† the ambassadors returned from Africa. They had first waited on King Masinissa; whence they proceeded to Carthage; but they received much

* So in the original; the name of the person who was chosen in the room of Cæpio being lost.

† 7th of June.

more certain information respecting the proceedings in that city from the King than from the Carthaginians themselves. They said, they had sufficient proof, that ambassadors had come from King Perseus, and that the senate had given them audience, by night, in the temple of Æsculapius; and the King asserted, that the Carthaginians had sent ambassadors to Macedonia, which they themselves did not positively deny. The senate, hereupon, resolved to send an embassy to Macedonia. They made choice of Caius Lælius, Marcus Valerius Messala, and Sextus Digitius, who accordingly proceeded thither. About this time, Perseus, in order to chastise some of the Dolopians, who were refractory, and insisted on the matters in dispute being determined by the Romans, and not by the King, marched an army into their country, and reduced the whole nation under his jurisdiction and dominion. Thence he passed through the mountains of Œta, and, on account of some religious scruples affecting his mind, went up to Delphos, to apply to the oracle. His sudden appearance in the middle of Greece caused a great alarm, not only in the neighbouring states, but even in Asia, whither an account of the disturbance was brought to King Eumenes. He staid only three days at Delphos, and then returned to his own dominions, through Phthiotis, Achaia, and Thessaly, without doing the least injury or damage to those countries. He did not think it sufficient to conciliate the esteem of the several states through which his road lay; but dispatched either ambassadors or letters to every one of the Grecian powers, requesting that they would "think no more of the animosities which had subsisted between them and his father; for that the disputes had not been so violent as that they might not, and ought not, to be dropped. On his part, there was no kind of obstacle to the forming of a cordial friendship." Above all, he wished, particularly, to find some way of ingratiating himself with the Achæan nation.

XXIII. This nation, and the state of Athens, had carried their resentment to such a length, as to prohibit the Macedonians entering their territories. In consequence of this, Macedonia became a place of refuge for slaves running away out of Achaia; for, as the Achæans had forbidden the inhabitants of Macedonia to set foot in their territories, they could not presume to pass the boundaries of that kingdom. When Perseus observed this, he seized all the fugitives, and wrote a letter *to the Achæans, telling them, that, out of good will toward them he had sent home their slaves who had fled into his dominions;* but that they ought to consider of the proper means of preventing such elopements for the future. When this letter was read by the prætor Xenarchus, who wished to recommend himself to the notice of the King, the greater part who were present, but especially those who had lost their slaves, commended the moderation and kindness with which it was written; but Callicrates, one who thought that the safety of the nation depended on the treaty with Rome being preserved inviolate, delivered his sentiments to this effect:—"Achæans, —some of you seem to consider the business under consideration, as being of little consequence. Now, for my part, I think it of the utmost importance; and that, instead of being under consideration, it is already in a manner decided. We prohibited the kings of Macedonia, and all their subjects, from entering our territories, and made a perpetual decree, not to receive from those sovereigns either ambassadors or messengers, who might attempt to draw us from our duty; yet we, I say, listen to what may, in some measure, be deemed the discourse of the King, though absent, and what is more, approve of his discourse. Although brute beasts generally reject and shun the food laid in their way for their destruction; yet we, blinded by the specious offer of an insignificant favour, swallow the bait, and would, for the sake of recovering a parcel of wretched slaves, of no value worth

mentioning, suffer our independence to be undermined and subverted. Is there a man among you who does not see, that the result expected from this business, is an alliance with the King, and consequently a dissolution of the treaty with Rome, the grand support of all our interests? That there must be a war between Perseus and the Romans, is not, I believe, a matter of doubt; it was expected during the life of Philip, and would have taken place, if his death had not interrupted its progress; it will, now, that he is dead, most certainly ensue. Philip, you all know, had two sons, Demetrius and Perseus. Demetrius was far superior in birth, on the mother's side, in merit, capacity, and in the esteem of the Macedonian nation. But Philip, having set up the crown as the prize of hatred towards the Romans, put Demetrius to death, for no other crime than having contracted a friendship with that people; and raised Perseus to the throne, because he knew that his own antipathy to the Romans would descend to him, with the crown. Accordingly, how has the present king employed himself since his father's death, but in preparing for the war? In the first place, to the terror of all the surrounding nations he brought the Bastarnians into Dardania; where, if they had made a lasting settlement, they would have proved more troublesome neighbours to Greece, than the Gauls are to Asia. Disappointed in that hope, he did not drop his design of a war; nay, if we choose to speak the truth, he has already commenced hostilities. He subdued Dolopia, by force of arms; and would not listen to their appeal to the arbitration of the Romans. Then, crossing Œta, that he might show himself in the very heart of Greece, he went up to Delphos. What, think you, was his view in taking a journey so uncommon? He next traversed Thessaly; and as to his refraining on his rout from doing injury to the people whom he hated, I dread his machinations the more on that very account. He then sent a letter to us,

with show of an act of kindness, and in which it is recommended that we consider of such measures as may prevent our needing the same in future, that is, to repeal the decree by which the Macedonians are excluded from Peloponnesus, to receive again ambassadors from him their king; to renew intimacies contracted with his principal subjects; so if, in a short time, we should see Macedonian armies, himself at their head, crossing over the narrow streight from Delphos into Peloponnesus, and thus be blended with this people, while they are arming themselves against the Romans. My opinion is, that we ought not to resolve on any new proceeding, but to keep every thing in its present state, until the question shall be decided with certainty, whether these our fears be well or ill grounded. If the peace between the Romans and Macedonians shall continue inviolate, then may we also have a friendship and intercourse with Perseus; but to think of such a measure now, appears to me both premature and dangerous."

XXIV. After him, Arco, brother to the prætor Xenarchus, said:—"Callicrates has laid me, and every one who differs in opinion from him, under a difficulty in delivering our sentiments; for after his pleading in favour of the Roman alliance, alleging designs formed, and meditated attacks on that state, yet (although there be no design formed, or attack meditated,) whoever dissents from him, must seem to argue against the cause of the Romans. In the first place, as if he had just left the senate-house of the Roman people, or had been admitted into the privy councils of kings, he knows and tells us every transaction that passed in secret. Nay more, inspired with a divining faculty, he pronounces what would have happened if Philip had lived, how Perseus became heir of the kingdom; what are the intentions of the Macedonians, and what the thoughts of the Romans. But we, who neither know for what cause, nor in what manner, Demetrius perish-

ed, nor what Philip would have done, if he had lived, must accommodate our resolutions to the transactions that have passed in open view. We know that Perseus, on his coming to the throne, sent ambassadors to Rome, and received the title of King from the senate, and we hear that ambassadors came from Rome to the King, and were graciously received by him. As far as I can judge, all these circumstances do not prognosticate hostility; and the Romans cannot be offended, if, as we followed their lead in war, so we follow now their example in peace. For my part, I cannot see, why we alone, of all mankind, wage implacable war against this kingdom. Are we exposed to insult by a close neighbourhood to Macedonia? or are we like the Dolopians, whom Perseus subdued lately, the weakest of all states? No; on the contrary, thanks to the bounty of the gods, we are sufficiently secured, as well by our own strength, as by the remoteness of our situation. But we have as much reason to apprehend ill treatment, as the Thessalians and the Ætolians; we have no more credit or influence with the Romans, though ever their friends and allies, than the Ætolians who, but lately, were their enemies. Whatever reciprocal rights the Ætolians, the Thessalians, the Epirots, in short, every state in Greece, allow to subsist between them and the Macedonians, let us allow the same. Why are we, alone, to carry inveterate rancour so far as to oppose the common claims of mankind? Admitting that Philip's conduct was such as to justify our passing the decree against him, which we did when he was in arms, and making war on us; yet how has Perseus, a prince just seated on the throne, whom we cannot charge with any kind of injustice toward us, and who endeavours, by his own kindness, to obliterate the memory of his father's quarrels;—how has he deserved, at our hands, that we should be his only enemies? I may go farther, and affirm, that so great have been our obligations to the former kings of Mace-

don, that the ill-usage, suffered from a single prince of their line, if any has really been suffered from Philip, *ought to be forgotten*, especially after his death. When a Roman fleet was lying at Cenchræ, and the consul, with his army, was at Elatia, we were three days in council, deliberating whether we should follow the Romans or Philip. Now, granting that the fear of immediate danger from the Romans had no influence on our judgments, yet there was, certainly, something that made our deliberation last so long; and that was, the connection which had long subsisted between us and the Macedonians; the distinguished favours which we had, of old, received from their kings. Let the same considerations prevail at present,—not to make us his singular friends, but to hinder us from becoming his singular enemies. Let us not, Callicrates, pretend what is not even thought of. No one advises us to form a new alliance, or sign a new treaty, by which we might inconsiderately entangle ourselves, but merely to open the intercourse of affording and demanding justice; and so as not, by excluding his subjects from our territories, to exclude our slaves from his dominions; nor yet to let the latter have a hiding-place to fly to. How does this operate against the Roman treaty? Why do we give an air of importance and suspicion to a matter which is trifling and open to the world? Why do we raise groundless alarms? Why, for the sake of ingratiating ourselves still more particularly with our allies, render others odious and suspected? If war shall take place, even Perseus himself does not doubt our taking part with the Romans. While peace continues, let animosities, if they are not terminated, be at least suspended." Those who approved the King's letter expressed their approbation of this speech; but the chief men in the assembly represented it as so humiliating, on their side, that the King, without deigning even to employ an embassy on the occasion, should compass his end by a letter of a few lines, that it was

agreed to postpone coming to any resolution on the subject. Perseus afterward sent ambassadors, when the council was sitting at Megalopolis; but those who dreaded a rupture with Rome, took care to prevent their being admitted to audience.

XXV. Sometime before this, the Ætolians vented their fury on each other, with such violence, and so much blood was shed by the contending parties, that the total extinction of the nation seemed to be at no great distance. Then both parties, being wearied, sent ambassadors to Rome, and also opened a negociation between themselves for the restoration of concord; but this was broken off, by an act of barbarity, which revived their old quarrels. Some exiles from Hypata, who were of the faction of Proxenus, had received a promise of being re-admitted into their native city; and Eupolemus, first magistrate of the state, having pledged the public faith for their security, they returned home, to the number of eighty persons of distinction. Eupolemus went out, among the rest of the multitude, to meet them; they were received and saluted with every expression of kindness, and right hands were reciprocally given. But no sooner did they enter the gate, than they were all put to death, while they, in vain, appealed to the faith pledged to them, and the gods who witnessed the transaction. On this the war blazed out anew, with greater fury than ever. Caius Valerius Lævinus, Appius Claudius Pulcher, Caius Memmius, Marcus Popillius, and Lucius Canuleius, being sent as ambassadors by the senate, arrived in that country. The deputies of both parties debated the business before them at Delphos, with great heat on both sides; but Proxenus particularly distinguished himself, and appeared to have greatly the advantage, both in the merits of his cause, and his talents as an orator. A few days after, he was poisoned by his wife Orthobula, who being convicted of the crime went into banishment. Crete was torn in

pieces by the same kind of madness; but, on the arrival of Quintus Minucius, lieutenant-general, who was sent with ten ships, to quiet their contentions, the inhabitants had some prospect of peace; however, they only concluded a suspension of arms for six months, after which the war was again renewed with much greater violence. About this time, the Lycians, too, suffered many hardships from the Rhodians. But the wars of foreign nations, among themselves, or the several methods in which they were conducted, it is not my business to detail; having, in the relation of those affairs, in which the Romans were concerned, a task of more than sufficient weight.

XXVI. In Spain, the Celtiberians, (who, since their reduction by Tiberius Gracchus, and their consequent surrender to him, had remained quiet; Marcus Titinius, prætor, holding the government of the province,) on the arrival of Appius Claudius, resumed their arms, and commenced hostilities, with a sudden attack on the Roman camp. At the first dawn the centinels on the rampart, and the men on guard before the gates, descrying the enemy approaching at a distance, gave the alarm. Appius Claudius instantly displayed the signal of battle; and, after exhorting the troops, in few words, ordered them to rush out by three gates at once. But they were opposed by the Celtiberians in the very passage, and, in consequence, the fight was for some time equal on both sides, as, on account of the narrowness of the same, the Romans could not all come into action. Pressing forwards, however, and following close on each other, they made their way beyond the trenches, so that they were able to stretch out their line, until it extended as far as the wings of the enemy, who were endeavouring to surround them; and now they made their onset with such sudden impetuosity, that the Celtiberians could not support the assault. Before the second hour, they were driven from the field: fifteen thousand were

either killed or made prisoners, and thirty-two standards were taken. Their camp, also, was stormed the same day, and a conclusion put to the war; for those who survived the battle fled by different ways to their several towns, and, thenceforward, submitted quietly to the Roman government.

XXVII. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus and Aulus Postumius being created censors, this year, reviewed the senate. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, chief pontiff, was chosen chief of the senate. Nine senators were expelled. The remarkable censures pronounced, were on Marcus Cornelius Maluginensis, who had been prætor in Spain two years before; on Lucius Cornelius Scipio, then prætor and exercising the jurisdiction between natives and foreigners; and on Cneius Fulvius, brother to the censor, and, as Valerius Antias says, partner in property. The consuls, after offering vows in the Capitol, set out for their provinces. Marcus Æmilius was commissioned by the senate to suppress an insurrection of the Patavians in Venetia; for their own ambassadors had given information that the disputes between contending factions had become so violent as to produce a civil war. The ambassadors who had gone into Ætolia, to suppress commotions of a similar kind, reported, on their return, that the outrageous temper of that nation could not be restrained. The consul's arrival among the Patavians saved them from ruin; and, having no other business in the province, he returned to Rome. The present censors were the first who engaged workmen to pave the streets of Rome with flint stones, to make roads, outside the city, with gravel, and to form raised foot-ways on the sides. They caused bridges to be built in several places, and seats in the theatre to be set apart for the prætors and ædiles; fixed up goals in the Circus, with balls on the goals for marking the number of courses of the chariots; and erected iron grates, through which wild beasts might be let in. They caused the Capitoline hill to be paved with flint,

and erected a piazza from the temple of Saturn, in the Capitol, to the senate-house, and over that a public hall. On the outside of the gate Trigemina, they also paved a market-place with stones, and inclosed it with a paling; repaired the Æmilian portico; and formed an ascent, by stairs, from the Tiber to the market-place. They paved, with flint, the portico, from the same gate to the Aventine, and built a court-house; contracted for walls to be built at Galatia and Oximum, and, selling lots of ground there, which belonged to the public, employed the money arising from the sale in building shops round the Forums of both places. Fulvius Flaccus (for Postumius *declared*, that, without a decree of the senate, or order of the people, he would not expend any money belonging to them) agreed for building a temple of Jupiter at Pisaurum, and another at Fundi; for bringing water to Pollentia; for paving the street of Pisaurum, and for many various works at Sinuessa; among which were, the drawing round a sewer to fall into the river, the inclosing of the Forum with porticos and shops, and erecting three statues of Janus. These works were all executed under the direction of Fulvius, and gained him a high degree of favour with those colonists. These censors were also very active and strict in their superintendence of the morals of the people. Many knights were deprived of their horses.

XXVIII. At the close of the year, there was a thanksgiving, for one day, on account of the advantages obtained in Spain under the conduct and auspices of Appius Claudius, proconsul; when twenty victims, of the larger kinds, were sacrificed. There was also a supplication, for one day, at the temples of Ceres, Liber, and Liberia, on account of a violent earthquake which had happened in Sabinia, and demolished a great number of buildings. When Appius Claudius came home from Spain, the senate voted that he should enter the city in ovation. The election of consuls now came

on, and, after a very warm contest, in consequence of the great number of candidates, the choice fell on Lucius Postumius Albinus and Marcus Popillius Lænas. Then were chosen prætors, Numerius Fabius Buteo, Marcus Matienus, Caius Cicereius, Marcus Furius Crassipes a second time, Marcus Atilius Serranus a second time, and Caius Cluvius Saxula a second time. After the elections were finished, Appius Claudius Centho, entering the city in ovation over the Celtiberians, conveyed to the treasury ten thousand pounds weight of silver, and five thousand of gold. Cneius Cornelius was inaugurated flamen of Jupiter. In the same year a tablet was hung up in the temple of Mother Matuta, with this inscription:—UNDER THE COMMAND AND AUSPICES OF TIBERIUS SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS, CONSUL, A LEGION AND ARMY OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE SUBDUED SARDINIA; IN WHICH PROVINCE ABOVE EIGHTY THOUSAND OF THE ENEMY WERE KILLED OR TAKEN. HAVING EXECUTED THE BUSINESS OF THE PUBLIC WITH THE HAPPIEST SUCCESS; HAVING RECOVERED THE REVENUES, AND RESTORED THEM *to the commonwealth;* HE BROUGHT HOME THE ARMY SAFE, UNINJURED, AND ENRICHED WITH SPOIL, AND, A SECOND TIME, ENTERED THE CITY OF ROME IN TRIUMPH. IN COMMEMORATION OF WHICH EVENT HE PRESENTED THIS TABLET AN OFFERING TO JUPITER. A map of the island of Sardinia was engraved on the tablet, and representations of the battles, fought there, were delineated on it. Several small exhibitions of gladiators were given to the public this year; the only one particularly remarkable, was that given by Titus Flaminius on occasion of his father's death, which was accompanied with a donation of meat, a feast, and stage plays, which lasted four days. Yet, in the whole of this great exhibition, only seventy-four men fought in three days. *The close of this year was rendered memorable by the proposal of a new and important rule, which*

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was debated with great heat. Hitherto, as the law stood, women were equally capable of taking inheritances as men. In consequence of this capacity, the wealth of the most illustrious houses was frequently transferred into other families, to the great detriment, as was supposed, of the state; to which it was no small advantage that the descendants of distinguished ancestors should, by their wealth and splendour, be an ornament and defence, rather than, by being reduced to indigence, become a disgrace, and a burden to the public. It was also thought, that, to the weaker sex, wealth might hold out dangerous temptations to luxurious indulgence; and that, fond, by nature, of dissipation, dress, and show, they might be induced to depart from that sanctity of manners, and purity of conduct, which, of old, were deemed the brightest ornaments of the female character. To obviate these evils, Quintus Voconius Saxa, plebeian tribune, proposed to the people, that "no person whatever should make any woman, whether married or unmarried, his heir; also, that no woman, whether married or unmarried, should be capable of taking, by inheritance, goods exceeding the value of one hundred thousand sesterces." Voconius, also, thought it proper to provide that estates should not be too much diminished by legacies; or, which sometimes happened, left away entirely from the right heirs. Accordingly he added a clause to his law, that "no person should bequeath to any person or persons property exceeding in value what was to go to the right heirs." This latter clause readily met the general approbation; it appeared reasonable, and likely to be very little grievous to any. But the former clause, utterly disqualifying women from taking inheritances, passed not so easily; there was a strong opposition to it, and a very violent debate, to which, at length, a speech of Marcus Porcius Cato put an end. His strenuous*

* 807*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*

defence of the Oppian law, and bitter invective against the indecorous behaviour of the women, we have already related. On the present occasion he exerted himself with equal earnestness, nor did he treat the female character with less severity. He declaimed, with great vehemence, against the extravagance and ostentation of the richer matrons, "who," he said, "retain to themselves large sums of money which they do not entrust to the power of their husbands, but only lend to them; and then upon any quarrel arising between them, they send their own slaves, who importunately demand repayment, and treat the husbands as if they were entire strangers, happening to be their debtors."—The law passed, as proposed by Voconius.*

* Book XXXIV. c. 1.

THE

HISTORY OF ROME.

BOOK XLII.

Eumenes, King of Asia, makes heavy complaints and charges, in the senate, against Perseus, King of Macedonia. War declared against Perseus. Publius Licinius Crassus, the consul, to whom the conduct of the war is committed, leads an army into Macedonia; fights Perseus, unsuccessfully, in several small engagements, in Thessaly; at length, defeats him entirely near Phalanna. The senate appealed to by Masinissa and the Carthaginians, in a dispute concerning the bounds of their territories. A census held; the number of Roman citizens found to be two hundred and fifty-seven thousand two hundred and thirty-one. Successes against the Corsicans and Ligurians.

I. THE first business which Lucius Postumius Albinus and Marcus Popilius Lænas brought before the senate, was the distribution of the provinces; when Liguria was assigned the joint province of both, with directions that they should enlist new legions, each having two assigned him for the service of that province, and also ten thousand foot and six hundred horse, of the Latine confederates; and, as a supplement to the army in Spain, three thousand Roman foot and two hundred horse. Besides these, they were ordered to raise one thousand five hundred Roman foot, and one hundred horse; with which the prætor, to Y.R.579. B.C.173.

whose lot Sardinia should fall, might cross over to Corsica, and carry on the war there; and it was farther ordered, that, in the mean time, the former prætor, Marcus Atillius, should hold the government of that country. The prætors then cast lots for their provinces. Aulus Atillius Serranus obtained the city jurisdiction; Caius Cluvius Saxula, that between natives and foreigners; Numerius Fabius Buteo, Hither Spain; Marcus Matienus, Farther Spain; Marcus Furius Crassipes, Sicily; and Caius Cicereius, Sardinia. The senate resolved, that, before the magistrates went abroad, Licius Postumius should go into Campania, to fix the bounds between the lands, which were private property, and those which belonged to the public; for it was understood that individuals, by gradually extending their bounds, had taken possession of a very considerable share of the common lands. The consul had conceived a great aversion from the people of Præneste, because on his going thither formerly, in a private capacity, to offer sacrifice in the temple of Fortune, they had paid him no compliment either general or particular; for which reason, before he set out from Rome, he sent a letter to Præneste, ordering the chief magistrate to meet him, and to provide him lodging at the public expence; and, that, at his departure, cattle should be ready to carry his baggage. No consul before him ever put the allies to any trouble or expence whatever. To prevent any such exaction, those magistrates were furnished with mules, tents, and every other requisite for a campaign. They had private lodgings, in which they behaved with courtesy and kindness, and their houses at Rome were always open to their hosts with whom they used to lodge. Ambassadors indeed sent to any place, on a sudden emergeney, demanded each a single horse in the several towns through which their journey lay, but no other expence was ever imposed on the allies by the Roman magistrates. The resentment of the consul, which, even if well

founded, ought not to have been exerted during his office, and the too modest, or too timid acquiescence of the Prænestines, gave to his successors, as if by an approved precedent, the privilege of laying on the confederates other such kinds of burdens, the weight of which was continually increased.

II. In the beginning of this year, the ambassadors, who had been sent to Ætolia and Macedonia, returned and reported, that "they had not been able to obtain an interview with Perseus, some of his court saying that he was abroad, others that he was sick; both of which were false pretences. Nevertheless, they clearly perceived that he would not long defer the commencement of hostilities. That in Ætolia, likewise, the dissensions grew daily more violent; and the leaders of the contending parties were not to be restrained by their authority." As a war with Macedonia was daily expected, the senate resolved, that, before it broke out, all prodigies should be expiated, and the favour of the gods invoked, in such kind of supplications as should be found directed in the books of the fates. It was said that at Lanuvium the appearance of large fleets was seen in the air; that at Privernum black wool grew out of the ground; that in the territory of Veii, at Remens, a shower of stones fell, and that the whole Pomptine district was covered with clouds of locusts; also that in the Gallic province, where a plough was at work, fishes sprung up from under the earth as it was turned. The books of the fates were accordingly consulted, and the decemvirs directed both to what gods, and with what victims, sacrifices should be offered; that a supplication should be performed, in expiation of the prodigies; and also another, which had been vowed in the preceding year for the health of the people, with a solemn festival. Accordingly, sacrifices were offered agreeably to the written directions of the decemvirs.

III. In the same year, the temple of Juno Lacinia was uncovered. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, censor, in erecting a temple to Equestrian Fortune, which he had vowed during the Celtiberian war, was anxiously desirous that it should not be surpassed by any other at Rome, either in size or magnificence. Thinking that it would be a very great embellishment to this temple if it were roofed with marble, he went to Bruttium, and stripped off about the half of that of the temple of Juno Lacinia, for he computed that so much would be sufficient to cover the one he was building. Ships were in readiness to take on board the materials, while the allies were deterred by the authority of the censor, from making opposition to the sacrilege. On his return, the marble was landed, and carried to the temple; but, though he made no mention of the place from which it was brought, yet such an affair could not be concealed. Accordingly it occasioned considerable murmuring in the senate; and all the members expressed their desire that the consuls should take the opinion of the Fathers on the subject. When the censor, on being summoned, appeared in the senate-house, they all, both separately and in a body, inveighed against him with much asperity. They cried out, that "he was not content with violating the most venerable temple in all that part of the world, a temple which neither Pyrrhus nor Hannibal had violated; but he had stripped it shamefully, and almost demolished it. Though created censor, for the purpose of regulating men's manners, and bound in duty, according to long-established rules, to enforce the repairing of edifices for public worship, and the keeping them in due order, he had nevertheless gone about through the cities of the allies, stripping off the roofs of their sacred buildings, and even demolishing them. In a word, and what might be deemed scandalous, if practised on private houses, he committed against the temples of the immortal gods, involving the Roman people in the guilt of impiety; as if the

deities were not the same in all places, but that some should be decorated with the spoils of others." Such evidently appeared to be the sentiments of the senators, before their opinion was asked; and, when the question was put, they unanimously concurred in voting, that proper persons should be employed to carry back the marble in question to the temple, and that atonements should be offered to Juno. What regarded the atonements was carefully executed, but those who undertook to see to the repairing of the building, made a report that they were obliged to leave the marble in the court of it, because no workman could be found who knew how to replace the same.

IV. Of the prætors who set out for the provinces, Numerius Fabius, on his way to Hither Spain, died at Marseilles. Envoys, sent by the Massilians, brought an account of this event, on which the senate resolved that Publius Furius and Cneius Servilius, to whom successors had been sent, should cast lots to determine which of them should hold the government of Hither Spain, with a continuation of authority; and the lot determined, very commodiously, that Publius Furius, the former governor, should continue. During this year, on its appearing that large tracts of land in Gaul and Liguria, which had been taken in war, lay unoccupied, the senate passed a decree, that those lands should be distributed in single shares; and Aulus Atilius, city prætor, in pursuance of the said decree, appointed ten commissioners for that purpose, Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, Caius Cassius, Titus Æbutius Carus, Caius Tremellius, Publius Cornelius Cetheges, Quintus, and Lucius Appuleius, Marcus Cæcilius, Caius Salonius, and Caius Munatius. They appropriated ten acres to each Roman, and three to each Latine colonist. At this time, ambassadors came to Rome from Ætolia with representations of the quarrels and dissensions subsisting in that country; as

did others from Thessaly, with accounts of the proceedings in Macedonia.

V. Perseus, applying his thoughts to the war, which had been resolved on during the lifetime of his father, endeavoured, by sending embassies, and by promising a great deal more than he performed, to attach to himself not only the commonwealth of Greece, but also each particular state. The inclinations of that people in general, were much better disposed towards him than towards Eumenes, notwithstanding that most of the leading men were under obligations to Eumenes, for valuable presents, and other acts of kindness; and that, in the administration of government, his conduct was such, that none of the states under his dominion felt any disposition to change situations with those which were free. With regard to Perseus, it was currently reported, that, after his father's death, he had killed his wife with his own hand; and invited from exile Apelles, who had formerly been his instrument in the villanous destruction of his brother, and who had, on that account, been carefully searched after by Philip, in order to bring him to punishment. Perseus having prevailed on Apelles to return, by promises of the most ample rewards for his services, put him privately to death. Although he had rendered himself infamous by many other murders, both of his own relations, and of others, and possessed not one good quality to recommend him, yet the Grecian states in general gave him the preference to Eumenes,—to a prince of such affection towards his relations, such justice towards his subjects, and such liberality towards all mankind; whether they were so prejudiced by the fame and dignity of the Macedonian kings, as to despise a kingdom lately formed, or were led by a wish for a change in affairs, or were desirous of exposing him to the arms of the Romans. The Ætolians were not the only people in a state of distraction, on account of the intolerable burden of their debts: the

Thessalians were in the same situation; and the evil, like a pestilence, had spread into Perrhæbia also. As soon as it was known that the Thessalians were in arms, the senate sent Appius Claudius, as ambassador, to examine and adjust their affairs. He severely reprimanded the leaders of both parties; and, after cancelling so much of the debts, as had been accumulated by iniquitous usury, which he did with the consent of the greater part of the creditors themselves, he ordered the remaining just debts to be discharged by annual payments. In the same manner, Appius regulated the business of Perrhæbia. In the mean time, Marcellus, at Delphi, gave a hearing to the disputes of the Ætolians, which they maintained with no less hostile acrimony than they had shown against each other in the heat of their civil war. Perceiving that they vied with each other in inconsiderate violence, he did not choose to make any determination, to lighten or aggravate the grievances of either party, but required of both alike to cease from hostilities, and, forgetting what was past, to put an end to their quarrels. A reconciliation accordingly took place between them, and was confirmed by a reciprocal exchange of hostages.

VI. A meeting was appointed at Corinth, in order that the hostages might be lodged in that city. On the breaking up of the Ætolian council, Marcellus crossed over from Delphi into Peloponnesus, where he had summoned a diet of the Achæans. There, by the praises which he bestowed on that nation, for having resolutely maintained their old decree, which prohibited the admission of the Macedonian kings within the limits of their territories, he manifested the inveterate hatred of the Romans towards Perseus; and this hatred broke out into effect, the sooner, in consequence of King Eumenes coming to Rome, and bringing with him a written state of the preparations made for war, which he had drawn up, after a full inquiry into every particular. Five

ambassadors were now sent to the King, in order to take a view of affairs in Macedonia; whence they were to proceed to Alexandria, to renew the treaty of friendship with Ptolemy. These were Caius Valerius, Cneius Lutatius Cerco, Quintus Bæbius Sulca, Marcus Cornelius Mammula, and Marcus Cæcilius Denter. About the same time, came ambassadors from King Antiochus; and the principal of them, called Apollonius, being admitted to audience of the senate, presented, on behalf of his King, many and reasonable apologies for paying the tribute later than the day appointed. "He now brought," he said, "the whole of it, that the King might not trespass on their indulgence, in any other respect than that of time. He was moreover charged with a present of golden vases, in weight five hundred pounds. Antiochus requested, that the treaty of alliance and amity, which had been made with his father, might be renewed with him; and entreated the Roman people freely to demand from him every service which might be expected from a prince sincerely disposed to prove himself a faithful ally. They would never find him remiss in the performance of any duty towards them. He had, while in Rome, experienced so great kindness from the senate, and so much courtesy from the younger part of the community, that, among all ranks of men, he was treated as a sovereign, not as a hostage." A gracious answer was returned to the ambassadors, and Aulus Atilius, city prætor, was ordered to renew with Antiochus the alliance formerly made with his father. The city quæstors received the tribute, and the censors the golden vases, which they were directed to deposit in whatever temples they should judge proper. One hundred thousand asses* were presented to the ambassador, and it was ordered, that a house should be given him for his accommodation, and his expenses defrayed, as

* 3221. 18s. 4d.

long as he should remain in Italy. The ambassadors, who had been in Syria, represented him as standing in the highest degree of favour with the King, and a very warm friend to the Romans. Such were the occurrences of this year respecting the provinces.

VII. Caius Cicereius, prætor in Corsica, fought the enemy in a pitched battle, in which seven thousand of the Corsicans were slain, and more than one thousand seven hundred taken. During the engagement, the prætor vowed a temple to Juno Moneta. Peace was then granted to that people, on their petitioning for it, and a contribution was imposed, of two hundred thousand pounds weight of wax. Corsica being thus reduced to subjection, Cicereius sailed back to Sardinia. In Liguria, also, a battle was fought in the territory of Statiella, at the town of Carystas. The Ligurians had assembled there a numerous army, who, for some time after Marcus Popillius' arrival, kept themselves within the walls; but afterwards, on the Roman general preparing to lay siege to the town, they marched out beyond the gates, and drew up in order of battle. The consul declined not an engagement; it was, indeed, the point he aimed at in threatening a siege. The fight was maintained for more than three hours, in such a manner, that the hope of victory leaned to neither side; but when the consul perceived that the Ligurian battalions no where gave ground, he ordered the cavalry to mount their horses, and charge in three places at once, with all possible violence. A great part of the horse broke through the middle of the enemy's line, and made their way to the rear of the troops engaged, which struck such terror into their whole army that they fled in confusion on all sides. Very few ran back into the town, because in that quarter, chiefly, the cavalry had thrown themselves in their way. So obstinate a contest swept off great numbers of the Ligurians, and many perished in the flight; ten thousand of them are said to have been kill-

ed, and more than seven hundred taken, in various places; besides which, the victors brought off eighty-two of their military standards. Nor was the victory gained without loss of blood; above three thousand of the conquerors fell in the conflict; for neither party giving way, the foremost on both sides were cut off.

VIII. When the Ligurians, after their dispersion in this defeat, re-assembled in one body, they found that a much greater number of their countrymen were lost, than left alive (for there were not above ten thousand men surviving); on which they surrendered. They did not stipulate for any terms, yet entertained hopes that the consul would not treat them with greater severity, than had been practised by former commanders. But he immediately stripped them all of their arms, and razed their town. He then made sale of themselves and their effects; which done, he sent a letter to the senate, relating the services which he had performed. When Aulus Atilius read this letter in the council, (for the other consul, Postumius, was absent, being employed in surveying the lands in Campania,) the proceeding appeared to the senate in a heinous light; "that the people of Statiella, who alone, of all the Ligurian nation, had not borne arms against the Romans, should be attacked, when not offering hostilities, and even after surrendering themselves into the protection of the Roman people, should be abused and exterminated by every instance of the most barbarous cruelty, they held utterly unpardonable; that so many thousands of innocent persons suffering, who had reckoned on the faith of the Roman people, afforded an example of the most mischievous tendency; and was enough to deter any from surrendering to them in future; dragged as they were away into various parts of the country, and made slaves to those who were formerly the avowed enemies of Rome, though now reduced to quiet. For these reasons the senate ordered,

that the consul, Marcus Popillius, should re-instate the Ligurians in their liberty, repaying the purchase-money to the buyers, and should likewise use his best endeavours to recover and restore their effects, and also their arms; and that, when these things were done, he should immediately retire out of the province; for they observed, that victory became honourable by subduing opposition, not by cruelty to the vanquished."

IX. But the same ferocious temper which actuated the consul in his conduct towards the Ligurians, urged him to refuse obedience to the senate. He immediately sent the legions into winter quarters at Pisæ, and, full of resentment against the senators and the prætor, went home to Rome; where, instantly assembling the senate in the temple of Bellona, he poured forth a torrent of invectives against the city magistrate, who, "when he ought to have proposed the offering of a thanksgiving for the happy successes obtained by the Roman arms, had procured a decree of the senate against him, in favour of the enemy; transferring thereby his victory to the Ligurians; and, though only a prætor, he had ordered the consul, in a manner, to be surrendered to them: he therefore gave notice, that he would sue to have him fined. From the senate he demanded a repeal of their decree passed against him; and that the thanksgiving, which they ought to have voted on the authority of his letter, sent from abroad, with an account of the success of the arms of the commonwealth, should, now, when he was present, be voted; first, in consideration of the honour due to the immortal gods, and, next, out of some kind of regard to himself." Many of the senators censured him to his face, in terms no less severe than they had used in his absence; and, not being able to obtain either of his requests, he returned to his province. The other consul, Postumius, after spending the whole summer in surveying the lands, without even seeing his province, came

home to Rome to hold the elections, when Caius Popillius Lænas and Publius Ælius Ligus were chosen consuls. Then were elected prætors, Caius Licinius Crassus, Marcus Junius Pennus, Spurius Lucretius, Spurius Cluvius, Cneius Sicinius, and Caius Memmius, a second time.

X. The lustrum was closed this year. The censors were Quintus Fulvius Flaccus and Lucius Postumius Albinus, the latter of whom performed the ceremony. In this survey were rated two hundred and sixty-nine thousand and fifteen Roman citizens. The number would have been much greater had not the consul, Lucius Postumius, given public orders, in assembly, that none of the Latine allies, (who, according to the edict of the consul Caius Claudius, ought to have gone home,) should be surveyed at Rome, but all of them in their respective countries. The censors conducted themselves in the office with perfect harmony, and zeal for the public good. They disfranchised and degraded from their tribes every one whom they expelled the senate, or from whom they took away his horse; nor did either approve a person censured by the other. Fulvius, at this time, dedicated the temple of Equestrian Fortune, which he had vowed six years before, and when proconsul in Spain, during the battle with the Celtiberians: he also exhibited stage-plays, which lasted four days, in one of which the performance was in the Circus. Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, decemvir in religious matters, died this year, and Aulus Postumius Albinus was substituted in his room. Such great clouds of locusts were suddenly brought by the wind over the sea into Apulia, that they covered a great part of the country; in order to remove this pest, so destructive to the fruits of the earth, Caius Sicinius, prætor elect, was sent in command, with a vast multitude of people, to gather them up, which took a considerable time. The beginning of the year, in which Caius Popillius and Publius Ælius were consuls, was employed in the disputes which had arisen in the last. The

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senators were desirous that the business respecting the Ligurians should be reconsidered, and the decree renewed. Ælius, the consul, was willing to propose it, but Popillius warmly interceded for his brother, both with his colleague and the senate; and, by giving notice, that if any vote should be passed on the subject he would enter his protest, he deterred him from proceeding in the matter. The senate being hereby equally incensed against them, persisted the more obstinately in their intention; and, when they took into consideration the distribution of the provinces, although the consuls wished for Macedonia, because a war with Perseus was daily expected, they assigned Liguria as the province of both, declaring that they would not vote Macedonia to them, unless the question were put on the affair of Marcus Popillius. The consuls, afterwards, demanded that they might be authorised to raise either new armies, or recruits to fill up the old; both were refused. The prætors for Spain, also, applied for reinforcement; Marcus Junius for Hither Spain, and Spurius Lucretius for the Farther, and were in like manner refused. Caius Licinius Crassus obtained, by lot, the city jurisdiction; Cneius Sicinius, the foreign; Caius Memmius, Sicily; and Spurius Cluvius, Sardinia. The consuls, enraged against the senate, appointed an early day for the Latine festival, at the same time declaring openly, that they would go away to their province, and would not transact any kind of business, except what belonged to their own government.

XI. Valerius Antias writes, that, in this consulate, Attalus, brother to King Eumenes, came to Rome as ambassador, with heavy charges against Perseus, and an account of his preparations for war. But the greater number of historians, and those deemed most worthy of credit, assert, that Eumenes came in person. Eumenes then, on his arrival, was received with every degree of respect which the Roman people judged suitable, not merely to his deserts, but also to

their own former favours, bestowed on him in great abundance. Being introduced to the senate, he said, that "the reason which had induced him to come to Rome, besides his wish to visit those gods and men who had placed him in a situation beyond which he could not presume to form a wish, was, that he might in person forewarn the senate to counteract the designs of Perseus." Then, beginning with the projects of Philip, he mentioned his murder of Demetrius, because that prince was averse from a war with Rome, and of calling the Bastarnian nation from their several residences, that he might have their support in coming into Italy. "While his thoughts were busied in plans of this sort, he was surprised by the approach of death, and left his kingdom to the person whom he knew to be, of all men, the bitterest foe to the Romans. Perseus, therefore," said he, "having received this scheme of a war, as a legacy bequeathed by his father, and descending to him along with the crown, advances and improves it, as his primary object, by every means that he can devise. He is powerful, in respect of the number of his young men, a long peace having produced a plentiful progeny; he is powerful, in respect of the resources of his kingdom; and powerful, likewise, in respect of his age. And as, at his time of life, he possesses vigour of body, so his mind has been thoroughly trained, both in the theory and practice of war; for, even from his childhood, he accompanied his father in his campaigns, and thereby became enured to it, not only against the neighbouring states, but also against the Romans, being employed by him, in many and various expeditions. Add to this, that since the government came into his own hands, he has, by a wonderful train of prosperous events, acccomplished many things which Philip, after using his best efforts, could never effect, either by force or artifice.

XII. "Besides his strength, he has such a degree of influence, as is usually acquired, in a great length of time, by ma-

ny and important kindnesses. For, in the several states throughout Greece and Asia, all men revere the dignity of his character; nor do I perceive for what deserts, for what generosity, such uncommon respect is paid him; neither can I, with certainty, say, whether it is the effect of some good fortune attending him, or whether, what I mention with reluctance, a general dislike to the Romans attaches men to his interest. Even among sovereign princes, his influence is exceedingly extensive. He married the daughter of Seleucus, a match which he did not solicit, but to which he was solicited by her friends; and he gave his sister in marriage to Prusias, in compliance with his earnest prayers and entreaties. Both these marriages were solemnized amidst congratulations and presents from innumerable embassies, the royal couples being escorted by the most renowned nations, acting as bridal attendants. The Bœotians could never be brought, by all the intrigues of Philip, to sign a treaty of friendship with him; but now, a treaty with Perseus is engraved at three different places, at Thebes, in Delos, in the most venerable and celebrated temple, and at Delphi. Then, in the diet of Achaia, (only that the proceeding was stopped by a few persons, threatening them with the displeasure of the Roman government,)—the business was nearly effected, of allowing him admission into that country. But, as to the honours, formerly paid to myself, (whose kindnesses to that nation have been such, that it is hard to say, whether my public or private benefactions were the greater,)—they have been lost, partly through neglect, and partly by hostile means. Who does not know that the Ætolians, lately, on occasion of their intestine broils, sought protection, not from the Romans, but from Perseus? For, while he is upheld by these alliances and friendships, he has at home such preparations of every requisite for war, that he wants nothing from abroad. He has thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, and is laying

up a store of corn for ten years, so that his country is in no kind of danger with respect to provisions. He has amassed money to such an amount, as to have in readiness the pay of ten thousand mercenary soldiers, besides the Macedonian troops, for the same number of years, as well as the annual revenue accruing from the royal mines. He has stored up arms for three times that number of men; and has Thrace under subjection, from which, as a never-failing spring, he can draw supplies of young men."

XIII. The rest of his discourse contained exhortations to timely exertions: "Conscript Fathers," said he, "the representations which I have made to you are not founded on uncertain rumours, and too readily believed by me, because I wished such charges against my enemy to be true; but on a clear discovery of the facts, as if I had been sent by you to make it. Nor would I have left my kingdom, which you have rendered ample, and highly respectable, and crossed such a tract of sea, to injure my own credit by offering you unauthenticated reports. I saw the most remarkable states of Asia and Greece, every day, gradually unfolding their sentiments, and ready to proceed, shortly, to such lengths, as would not leave them room for repentance. I saw Perseus, not confining himself within the limits of Macedonia, but seizing some places by force of arms, and seducing, by favour and kindness, those which he could not subdue. I perceived how unfair a footing matters stood on, while his intentions towards you were evidently hostile, and yours towards him perfectly pacific. Although to my judgment, he did not appear to be preparing, but to be rather waging war. Abrupolis, your ally and friend, he dethroned. Artetarus the Illyrian, another ally and friend of yours, he put to death, on hearing of some information which he had afforded you. The Thebans, Eversa and Callicratus, two of the chief men in the state, he procured to be taken off, because, in the council of the Bœotians,

they had spoken with more than ordinary freedom against him, and declared, that they would inform the Romans of what was going on. He carried succour to the Byzantians, contrary to the treaty. He made war on Dolopia. He overran Thessaly and Doris, with an army, in order to take advantage of the civil war then raging, and by the help of the party, which had the worse cause, to crush the other, which had more right on its side. He raised universal confusion and disorder in Thessaly and Perrhæbia, by holding out a prospect of an abolition of debts, that, by means of the multitude of debtors thereby attached to his interest, he might overpower the nobles. As you remained inactive and patient during all these transactions, and as he sees Greece yielded up to him by you, he firmly believes that he will not meet with one opponent in arms, until he arrives in Italy. How safe or how honourable this might be for you, yourselves will consider; for my part, I thought it would certainly reflect dishonour on me, if Perseus should come into Italy to make war, before I, your ally, came to warn you to be on your guard. Having discharged this duty, necessarily incumbent on me, and, in some measure, freed and exonerated my faith, what can I do farther, except beseeching the gods and goddesses that you may adopt such measures as will prove salutary to yourselves, to your commonwealth, and to us, your allies and friends, who depend upon you."

XIV. His discourse made a deep impression on the senate. However, for the present, no one, without doors, could know any thing more than that the King had been in the senate-house, such secrecy was observed by all the members; and it was not until after the conclusion of the war, that the purport of King Eumenes's speech, and the answer to it, transpired. In a few days after, the senate gave audience to the ambassadors of Perseus. But their minds had been so prepossessed by King Eumenes, that every plea offered in his

justification by the ambassadors, and every argument to alleviate the charges against him, was disregarded. They were still farther exasperated by the immoderate presumption of Harpalus, chief of the embassy, who said, that "the King was indeed desirous, and even anxious, that they should give credit to his asseveration, respecting his conduct, that he had neither said nor done any thing hostile; but that, if he saw them obstinately bent on finding out a pretence for war, he would defend himself with courage and resolution. The fortune of war was open to all, and the issue uncertain." All the states of Greece and Asia were full of curiosity to learn what the ambassadors of Perseus, and what Eumenes, had effected with the senate; and most of them, on hearing of the latter's journey to Rome, which they supposed might produce material consequences, had sent ambassadors thither, under pretexts of other business. Among the rest came an embassy from Rhodes, at the head of which was a person named Satyrus, who had no kind of doubt, but that Eumenes had included his state in the accusations brought against Perseus. He therefore endeavoured, by every means, through his patrons and friends, to get an opportunity of debating the matter with Eumenes in presence of the senate. When he obtained this, he inveighed against that King with intemperate vehemence, as having instigated the people of Lycia to an attack on the Rhodians, and as being more oppressive to Asia than Antiochus had been. This rendered his discourse flattering indeed, and acceptable to the states of Asia,—(for the popularity of Perseus had spread even to them,)—but very displeasing to the senate, and disadvantageous to himself and his nation. This apparent conspiracy against Eumenes increased, indeed, the favour of the Romans towards him, so that every kind of honour was paid, and the most magnificent presents were made him; among which were a curule chair and an ivory sceptre.

XV. After the embassies were dismissed, Harpalus hastened home to Macedonia, and told the King, that he had left the Romans, not indeed making immediate preparations for war, but in such an angry temper, that it was very evident they would not defer it long. Perseus himself, who all along believed that this would be the case, now even wished for it, as he thought himself at the highest pitch of power that he could ever expect to attain. Being more violently incensed against Eumenes than against any other, he resolved to commence the war by shedding his blood; and he suborned Evander, a Cretan, commander of the auxiliaries, and three Macedonians, who were accustomed to the perpetration of such deeds, to murder that King, giving them a letter to a woman called Praxo, an acquaintance of his, the wealthiest and most powerful person at Delphi. It was generally known that Eumenes intended going up to Delphi, to sacrifice to Apollo. Thither the assassins, with Evander, proceeded in search of a convenient place for the execution of their design. On the road from Cirra to the temple, before they came to the places thickly inhabited, there was a wall on the left side, at the foot of which was a narrow path, where single persons could pass; on the right, the ground had sunk, and formed a precipice of considerable depth. Behind this wall they concealed themselves, and raised up steps to it, that from thence, as from that of a fortress, they might discharge their weapons on the King, as he passed by. At first, as he came up from the sea, he was surrounded by a multitude of his friends and attendants; afterwards, the road, growing gradually narrower, consequently made the train thinner about him. When they arrived at the spot where each was to pass singly, the first who advanced on the path was Pantaleon, an Ætolian of distinction, who was at the time in conversation with the King. The assassins now, starting up, rolled down two huge stones, one of which struck Eumenes on the head, and the other on

the shoulder, with such force as to deprive him of sensation, and, as he tumbled from the sloping path down the precipice, they poured a multitude of stones upon him. The rest of his friends and attendants, on seeing him fall, fled different ways, but Pantaleon, with great intrepidity and resolution, kept his ground, in order to protect the King.

XVI. The assassins might, by making a short circuit round the wall, have run down and completed their business; they yet fled off towards the top of Parnassus with precipitation. One of them, however, being unable to keep up with the rest through the pathless and steep grounds, and thus retarding their flight, they killed him lest he should be taken, and a discovery ensue. The friends, and then the guards and servants of the King ran together and raised him up, while he was in a swoon, and quite insensible. However, they perceived from the warmth of his body and the breath remaining in his lungs, that he was still alive, but had little or no hopes that he would ever recover. Some of his guards pursued the tracks of the assassins with much fatigue to the summit of the hill, but returned without being able to overtake them. As the Macedonians set about the deed injudiciously, so, after making the attempt with boldness, they abandoned it in a manner both foolish and cowardly. Next day the King, who had by this time come to himself, was conveyed by his friends on ship-board, and sailed thence to Corinth; then, having drawn their vessels across the neck of the isthmus, they crossed over to Agina. Here his cure was conducted with such secrecy, no one being admitted to see him, that a report of his death was carried into Asia, and was believed, even by Attalus, with more readiness than became an affectionate brother: for he talked, both to Eumenes' consort, and to the governor of the citadel, as if he had actually succeeded to the crown. This, afterwards, came to the knowledge of the King, who, though he had determined to dissemble, and to pass it

over in silence, yet could not refrain, at their first meeting, from rallying Attalus, on his premature haste to get a wife. The report of Eumenes' death spread even to Rome.

XVII. About the same time, Caius Valerius, who had been sent ambassador into Greece, to examine the state of that country, and to observe the movements of King Perseus, returned home; and his reports accorded, in every circumstance, with the representations made by Eumenes. He brought with him, from Delphi, Praxo, the woman whose house had served as a receptacle for the assassins; and Lucius Rammius, a Brundusian, giving information to this effect: that Rammius was a person of the first distinction at Brundusium, accustomed to entertain in his house the Roman commanders, and such ambassadors as came that way from foreign powers, especially those of the Kings. By these means he became known to Perseus, although his dominions were so distant; and, in consequence of a letter from him, which gave hopes of a more intimate friendship, and of great advantages to accrue to him, he went on a visit to the King, and, in a short time, found himself treated with particular familiarity, and drawn oftener than he wished, into private conversations. Perseus, after promises of the highest rewards, pressed him, with the most earnest solicitations, "as all the commanders and ambassadors of the Romans used to lodge at his house, to procure poison to be given to such of them as he should point out by letter;" and told him, that, "as he knew the preparation of poison to be attended with the greatest difficulty and danger, and that ordinarily it could not be administered without the privity of several. Besides, the dose was not always certain in its operation, either as to its power to produce the desired effect, or its safety with respect to concealment;—he would, therefore, give him some which would not afford any sign that could lead to detection." Rammius dreading, lest, in case of refusal, he should himself be the

first on whom the poison would be tried, promised compliance, and departed; but not thinking it prudent to return to Brundusium, without first applying to Caius Valerius, the ambassador, who was said to be at that time in the neighbourhood of Chalcis, he first disclosed the affair to him; and then, by his order, accompanied him to Rome, where, being brought before the senate, he gave them an account of what had passed.

XVIII. These discoveries, added to the representations made before by Eumenes, hastened a declaration of war against Perseus; the senate perceiving that he did not content himself with preparing, with the spirit of a King, for a fair and open war, but pushed his designs by all the base clandestine means of assassination and poison. It was resolved, that the new consuls should have the conduct of the war; but, in the mean time, an order was given, that Cneius Sicinius, the prætor, whose province was the jurisdiction between natives and foreigners, should raise a body of troops, to be led with all expedition to Brundusium, and thence carried over into Apollonia in Epirus, in order to secure the cities on the sea-coasts; so as that the consul, who should have Macedonia as his province, might put in his fleet with safety, and land his troops with convenience. Eumenes was detained a long time at Ægina, his wounds proving dangerous, and the cure difficult; but, as soon as he could remove with safety, he went home to Pergamus, and set on foot the most vigorous preparations for war, to which he was now stimulated by the late atrocious villany of Perseus, in addition to the ancient enmity which subsisted between them. Ambassadors soon came from Rome, with congratulations on his escape from so great a danger. The war with Macedonia was deferred to the next year; on this, (when the other prætors had gone away to their provinces,) Marcus Junius and Spurius Lucretius, to whom the Spanish affairs had fallen, by teazing the

senate with frequent repetitions of the same request, obtained at last a grant of recruits for their army. They were commanded to raise three thousand foot and one hundred and fifty horse for the Roman legions; and to levy, from the allies, for the confederate troops, five thousand foot and three hundred horse: this number of forces the new prætors carried with them into Spain.

XIX. In consequence of the inquiries, made by the consul Postumius, a large portion of the lands of Campania, which had been usurped by private persons, indiscriminately, in various parts, had been recovered to the public. Wherefore, in this year, Marcus Lucretius, plebeian tribune, published a proposal for an order of the people, that the censors should let those lands to farm; a measure which had been omitted during so many years, since the taking of Capua, that the greediness of individuals might have clear room to work in. After war, though not yet proclaimed, had been resolved on, and while the senate was anxious to know which of the several kings would espouse their cause, and which that of Perseus, ambassadors came to Rome, from Ariarathes, bringing with them his younger son. The purport of their message was, that "the King had sent his son to be educated at Rome, in order that he might, even from childhood, be acquainted with the manners and the persons of the Romans; and he requested, that they would allow him to enjoy, not only the protection of his particular friends, but likewise the care, and in some measure the guardianship, of the public." This embassy was highly pleasing to the senate; and they ordered, that Cneius Sicinius, the prætor, should hire a furnished house for the accommodation of the young prince and his attendants. Ambassadors from some of the states of Thrace attended the senate, for their decision of a dispute, and requested a treaty of alliance and friendship; and they not only obtained their request, but received, each of them, a present to the amount

of two thousand *asses*;* for the Romans were rejoiced at gaining the friendship of those states, in particular, as they lay at the back of Macedonia. But, in order to acquire a clear knowledge of every thing in Asia and in the islands, they sent ambassadors, Tiberius Claudius Nero and Marcus Decimus, with orders to go to Crete, and Rhodes, to renew the treaties of friendship, and at the same time to observe whether any attempts were made by Perseus to seduce the affections of the allies.

XX. While the minds of the public were in a state of extreme anxiety and suspense, with respect to the impending war, a storm happened in the night, during which the pillar in the Capitol, ornamented with beaks of ships, *which had been erected* in the first Punic war, by the consul *Marcus Æmilius*, whose colleague was Servius Fulvius, was shattered to pieces, even to the very foundation, by lightning. This event was deemed a prodigy, and reported to the senate, who ordered, that it should be laid before the aruspices, and that the decemvirs should consult the books. The decemvirs, in answer, directed that the city should be purified; that a supplication, and prayers, for the averting of misfortunes, should be offered, and victims of the larger kinds sacrificed, both in the Capitol at Rome, and at the promontory of Minerva in Campania; and that games should be celebrated, as soon as possible, in honour of Jupiter, supremely good and great, during ten days. All these directions were carefully executed, and the aruspices answered, that the prodigy would prove happy in the issue; that it portended extension of territory and destruction of enemies; for those beaks of ships, which the storm had scattered, were to be held as spoils. There were other occurrences which occasioned religious apprehensions: it was said, that at the town of Saturnia showers

* 6l. 9s. 2d.

of blood fell during three successive days; that an ass, with three feet, was foaled at Calatia; that a bull, with five cows, were killed by one stroke of lightning; and that a shower of earth had fallen at Oximum. On account of these prodigies, also, public worship was performed, and a supplication and festival observed for one day.

XXI. The consuls were not yet gone to their provinces; for they would not comply with the senate, in proposing the business respecting Marcus Popillius, and, on the other hand, the senate was determined to proceed on no other until that was done. The general resentment against Popillius was aggravated by a letter received from him, in which he mentioned that he had, as proconsul, fought a second battle with the Ligurians of Statiella, ten thousand of whom he had killed, and that the rest of the Ligurian states, (no doubt provoked at the injustice of this attack,) had all taken arms. On this the most severe animadversions were uttered in the senate, not only against the absent Popillius, for having, contrary to all laws human and divine, made war on people who had submitted to terms, and stirred up to rebellion states that were disposed to live in peace, but also against the consuls for not having proceeded to that province. Encouraged by the unanimous opinion of the senators, two plebeian tribunes, Marcus Marcius Sermo and Quintus Marcius Scylla, declared publicly, that they would institute a suit for a fine to be laid on the consuls, if they did not repair to their station. They likewise read before the senate a proposal for an order of the people respecting the Ligurians, which they intended to publish. The purport of it was, that "it should be decreed, that, in case any of the surrendered Statiellans should not be restored to liberty, before the calends of August then next ensuing, the senate, on oath, should appoint a magistrate to inquire into the business, and to punish the person through whose wicked practices he had been brought into slavery;"

and accordingly, by direction of the senate, they issued the same. Before the departure of the consuls, the senate gave audience, in the temple of Bellona, to Caius Cicereius, prætor of the former year. After recounting his services in Corsica, he demanded a triumph; but this being refused, he rode in state on the Alban mount; a mode of celebration for victory without public authority, which had now become usual. The people, with universal approbation, passed and ratified the order proposed by Marcius, respecting the Ligurians; and, in pursuance thereof, Caius Licinius, prætor, desired the senate to appoint a person to conduct the inquiry, according to the order; whereupon the senate directed that he himself should conduct it.

XXII. The consuls repaired, at last, to their province, and received the command of the army from Marcus Popillius. But the latter did not dare to go home to Rome; for he dreaded the being brought to trial, while the senate were so highly displeased with him, the people still more exasperated, and before a prætor likewise, who had taken the opinion of the senate, on an inquiry pointed against him. Against this design, to evade a trial, the plebeian tribunes employed the menace of another order,—that if he did not come into the city of Rome before the ides of November, Caius Licinius should judge and determine respecting him, though absent. This drew him home, in spite of his reluctance; and when he appeared in the senate, he was received with the strongest marks of displeasure and resentment. His conduct was arraigned by many of the members in the bitterest terms; and a decree was passed, that the prætors, Caius Licinius and Cneius Sicinius, should take care that all such of the Ligurians, as had not been in open arms, since the consulate of Quintus Fulvius and Lucius Manlius, should be restored to liberty; and that the consul Caius Popillius should assign them lands on the farther side of the Po. By this decree,

many thousands were so restored, led beyond the Po, and received portions of land accordingly. The trial of Marcus Popillius, on the Marcian law, was twice brought to a hearing, before Caius Licinius, but, at a third hearing, the prætor, overcome by his regard for the absent consul, and the prayers of the Popillian family, ordered the defendant to appear on the ides of March, on which day the new magistrates were to enter into office, so that, being then in a private capacity, he could not preside at the trial. Thus was the order of the people, respecting the Ligurians, eluded by artifice.

XXIII. There were, at this time, in Rome, ambassadors from Carthage, and also from Gulussa, son of Masinissa, between whom very warm disputes passed, in presence of the senate. The Carthaginians complained, that "besides the district, about which ambassadors were formerly sent from Rome, to determine the matter on the spot, Masinissa had, within the last two years, by force of arms, possessed himself of more than seventy towns and forts in the Carthaginian territories. This was easy for him, who suffered no consideration to restrain him. But the Carthaginians, being tied down by treaty, were silent; for they were prohibited from carrying arms beyond their own frontiers: and although they knew that, if they forced the Numidians thence, the war would be waged within their own territory, yet they were deterred, by another clause in the treaty, too clear to be mistaken, in which they were expressly forbidden to wage war against the allies of the Roman people. But things were come to such a pass, that the Carthaginians could not longer endure his pride, his cruelty, and his avarice. They were sent," they said, "to beseech the senate to grant them one of these three things; either that they, as a common ally, should, on a fair discussion, determine what was the right of each; or give permission to the Carthaginians to defend themselves, in a just war, against unjust attacks; or, finally, if favour swayed more

with them than the truth, to fix at once how much of the property of others they wished should be bestowed on Masinissa. Their grants would, at all events, be more moderate than his usurpations; and the extent of them would be ascertained: whereas, he would set no limits but the arbitrary dictates of his own ambition. If they could obtain none of these, and if they had, since the peace granted by Publius Scipio, been guilty of any transgression, they begged that the Romans themselves would rather inflict the punishment. They preferred a secure bondage, under Roman masters, to a state of freedom, exposed to the injustice of Masinissa. It was better for them to perish at once, than to continue to breathe, under the will of an executioner." Having spoken thus, they burst into tears, prostrated themselves on the ground, and, in this posture, excited both compassion for themselves, and *no less displeasure* against the King.

XXIV. It was then voted, that Gulussa should be asked, what answer he had to make to these charges, or that, if it were more agreeable to him, he should first tell, on what business he had come to Rome. Gulussa said, that "it was hard for him to speak on subjects, concerning which he had no instructions from his father; and that it would have been hard for his father to have given him instructions, when the Carthaginians neither disclosed the business, which they intended to bring forward, nor even their desire of going to Rome. That they had, for several nights, held private consultations, in the temple of Æsculapius, from whence ambassadors were dispatched with secret information to Rome. This was his father's reason for sending him into Italy, that he might entreat the senate not to give credit to imputations, laid by their common foe, against him, whom they hated for no other cause than his inviolable fidelity to the Roman people." After hearing both parties, the senate, on the question being put, respecting the demands of the Carthaginians, or-

dered this answer to be given, that " it was their will, that Gulussa should, without delay, return to Numidia, and desire his father to send ambassadors immediately to the senate, to answer the complaints of the Carthaginians, and to give notice to that people to come, and support their allegations. All the honour in their power they had hitherto paid to Masinissa, and would continue to pay him; but they did not give him a privilege of screening misconduct under their favour. Their wish was, that the lands should, every where, be possessed by the real owners; nor did they intend that new boundaries should be established, but that the old ones should be observed. When they vanquished the Carthaginians, they left them in possession of cities and lands, not with the purpose of stripping them by acts of injustice in time of peace, of what they had not taken from them by the right of war." With this answer the Carthaginians, and the prince, were dismissed. The customary presents were sent to both parties, and the other attentions, which hospitality required, were performed with all courtesy.

XXV. About this time Cneius Servilius Cæpio, Appius Claudius Centho, and Titus Annius Luscus, who had been sent ambassadors to Macedonia, to demand restitution and renounce the King's friendship, returned, and inflamed, to a greater height, the resentment already entertained by the senate against Perseus, by relating, in order, all that they had seen and heard. They said, that " through all the cities of Macedonia they saw preparations for war, carried on with the utmost diligence. When they arrived at the residence of the King, they were refused admission to him, for many days; at the end of which, despairing of meeting with him, they left the place, and were then, at last, called back from their journey and introduced to him. The topics on which they insisted in their discourse were, the treaty concluded with Philip, and, after his father's death, renewed with him-

self; in which he was expressly prohibited from carrying his arms beyond his own dominions, and, likewise, from making war on the allies of the Roman people. They then laid before him, in order, the true and well-authenticated accounts, which they themselves had lately heard from Eumenes, in the senate. They took notice, besides, of his having held a secret consultation, in Samothracia, with ambassadors from the states of Asia; and told him, that for these injuries, the senate expected satisfaction to be given, as well as restitution, to them, and their allies, of their property, which he held, contrary to the tenor of the treaty. On this, the King spoke at first with great vehemence, frequently upbraiding the Romans with pride and avarice, and with sending ambassadors, one after another, to pry into his words and actions; expecting that, in every case, he should speak, and act, in compliance with their dictates, and obedient to his nod. After speaking a long time with great loudness and violence, he ordered them to return the next day, for he intended to give his answer in writing. This he accordingly delivered to them; of which the purport was, that the treaty concluded with his father in no respect concerned him; that he had suffered it to be renewed, not because he approved of it, but because, being so lately come to the throne, he was obliged to acquiesce in every thing. If they chose to form a new engagement with him, the terms ought, first, to be agreed on; if they were satisfied to treat on an equal footing, he would consider what was to be done, on his part, and he doubted not but they would be careful enough of the interest of their own state. After this, he hastily turned away, and they were desired to quit the palace. They then declared, that they renounced his friendship and alliance, at which he was highly exasperated; halted, and with a loud voice, charged them to quit his dominions within three days. They departed accordingly; and, neither on their coming, nor while they staid,

was any kind of attention or hospitality shown them." The Thessalian and Ætolian ambassadors were then admitted to audience. The senate wishing to know, as soon as possible, what commanders were to be employed in the service of the state, voted, that a letter should be sent to the consuls, directing, that whichever of them was most able should come to Rome to elect magistrates.

XXVI. The consuls, during that year, performed no exploits that deserved much notice. As the Ligurians had been highly exasperated, it was thought the most eligible plan, to pacify and appease them. While the public were looking forward to a Macedonian war, ambassadors from Issa gave them reason to suspect the inclinations of Gentius, King of Illyria; for they complained that "he had, a second time, ravaged their country;" affirming, likewise, that "the Kings of Macedonia and Illyria lived on terms of the closest intimacy; that both were preparing, in concert, for war against the Romans, and that there were then in Rome Illyrian spies, under the appearance of ambassadors, and who were sent thither by the advice of Perseus." The Illyrians, being called before the senate, said, that they were sent by their King, to justify his conduct, if the Issans should make any complaint against him. They were then asked, why they had not applied to some magistrate, that they might, according to the regular practice, be furnished with lodging and entertainment, that their arrival might be known, and the business on which they came; but, not giving a satisfactory answer, they were ordered to retire out of the senate-house. It was not thought proper to give the many answer, as delegates, because they had not applied for an audience of the senate; but a resolution passed, that "ambassadors should be sent to the King, to acquaint him with the complaints made by the allies, of his having ravaged their country; and to represent to him the impropriety of his conduct." On this embassy were sent

Aulus Terentius Varro, Caius Plætorius, and Caius Cicereius. The ambassadors, who had been sent to the several kings in alliance with the state, came home from Asia, and reported, that "they had conferred there with Eumenes; in Syria, with Antiochus; and at Alexandria with Ptolemy; all of whom, though strongly solicited by embassies from Perseus, remained perfectly faithful to their engagements, and gave assurances of their readiness to execute every order of the Roman people. That they had also visited the allied states; that all were firm in their attachment, except the Rhodians, who seemed to be wavering, and infected by the counsels of Perseus." Ambassadors had come from the Rhodians, to exculpate them from the imputations, which, they knew, were openly urged against them; but a resolution was made, that "they should have audience of the senate, when the new magistrates came into office."

XXVII. It was judged necessary to make immediate preparations for war. A commission was accordingly given to Caius Licinius, prætor, to refit as many as could be made serviceable of the old quinqueremes which lay in the docks at Rome, to make up a fleet of fifty ships, and, if he were at a loss for any to complete that number, to write to his colleague, Caius Memmius, in Sicily, directing him to repair and fit out such vessels as were in that province, so as that they might be sent, with all expedition, to Brundusium. Caius Licinius, prætor, was ordered to enlist Roman citizens of the rank of freedmen's sons, to man twenty-five ships; Caius Sicinius to levy, from the allies, an equal number for the other twenty-five, and likewise to require from the Latine confederates, eight thousand foot and four hundred horse. Aulus Atillius Serranus, who had been prætor the year before, was commissioned to receive these troops at Brundusium, and transport them to Macedonia; and Cneius Sicinius, the prætor, to keep them in readiness for embarka-

tion. By direction of the senate, Caius Licinius, the prætor, wrote to the consul Caius Popillius, to order the second legion, which was the oldest then in Liguria, together with four thousand foot and two hundred horse, of the Latine nation, to be in Brundusium, on the ides of February. With this fleet, and this army, Cneius Sicinius, being continued a year in command for the purpose, was ordered to take care of the province of Macedonia, until a new governor should arrive. All these measures, voted by the senate, were vigorously executed; thirty-eight quinqueremes were drawn out of the docks, and given to Lucius Porcius Licinius, to be conducted to Brundusium, and twelve were sent from Sicily; three commissaries were dispatched into Apulia and Calabria, to buy up corn for the fleet and army; these were Sextus Digitius, Titus Juventius, and Marcus Cæcilius. When all things were in readiness, the prætor, Cneius Sicinius, in his military robes, set out from the city, and went to Brundusium.

XXVIII. The consul, Caius Popillius, came home to Rome, when the year had almost expired, much later than had been directed by the vote of the senate; for he had been ordered, in consideration of such an important war impending, to elect magistrates as soon as possible. For this reason the consul's recital, in the temple of Bellona, of his services performed in Liguria, was not favourably listened to by the senate. He was frequently interrupted, and asked, why he had not restored to liberty the Ligurians, who had been oppressed by his brother? The election was held on the day appointed by proclamation, the twelfth before the calends of March. The consuls chosen were, Publius Licinius Crassus, and Caius Cassius Longinus. Next day were elected prætors, Caius Sulpicius Galba, Lucius Furius Philus, Lucius Canuleius Dives, Caius Lucretius Gallus, Caius Caninius Rebilus, and Lucius Villius Annalis. The provinces de-

creed to these prætors were, the two civil jurisdictions in Rome, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia; and one of them was kept disengaged, that he might be employed wherever the senate should direct. The consuls elect received orders from the senate, to offer a sacrifice, with victims of the larger kinds, on the day of their entering into office; and to pray to the gods, that the war, which the Roman people intended to engage in, might prove fortunate in the issue. On the same day, the senate passed an order, that the consul Caius Popillius should vow games, of ten days' continuance, to Jupiter supremely good and great, with offerings, in all the temples, if the commonwealth should remain for ten years in its present state. Pursuant to this vote, the consul made a vow in the Capitol, that the games should be celebrated, and the offerings made, at such expence as the senate should direct, and the vow was expressed in terms dictated by Lepidus the chief pontiff, in the presence of not less than one hundred and fifty persons. There died this year, of the public priests, Lucius Æmilius Papus, decemvir of religious rites, and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, a pontiff, who had been censor the year before. The latter ended his life in a shocking manner: he had received an account, that, of his two sons who were in the army in Illyria, one was dead, and the other labouring under a heavy and dangerous malady: his grief and fears, together, overwhelmed his reason, and his servants, on going into his chamber in the morning, found him hanging by a rope. It was generally believed, that, since his censorship, his understanding had not been sound; and it was now said, that the resentment of Juno Lacinia, for the spoil committed on her temple, had caused the derangement of his intellects. Marcus Valerius Messala was substituted decemvir, in the place of Æmilius; and Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, though a mere youth, was chosen into the priesthood as pontiff, in the room of Fulvius.

XXIX. In this consulate of Publius Licinius and Caius Cassius, not only the city of Rome, but the whole of Italy, with all the kings and states, both in Europe and in Asia, had their attention fixed on the approaching war between Rome and Macedonia. Eumenes was instigated against Perseus, not only by an old hatred, but also by recent anger, for having been, through his nefarious contrivance, almost slaughtered, like a victim, at Delphi. Prusias, King of Bithynia, resolved to keep clear of hostilities, and to wait the event; for as he did not think it proper to carry arms on the side of the Romans, against his wife's brother, so he trusted, that, in case of Perseus proving victorious, his favour might be secured through the means of his sister. Ariathes, King of Cappadocia, besides having, in his own name, promised aid to the Romans, had, ever since his connexion of affinity with Eumenes, united with him in all his plans, whether of war or peace. Antiochus, indeed, entertained designs on the kingdom of Egypt, and despising the unripe age of Ptolemy, and the inactive disposition of his guardians, thought he might, by raising a dispute about Cœlesyria, find sufficient pretext for proceeding to extremities, and carry on a war there, without any impediment, while the Roman arms were employed against Macedonia: yet, by his ambassadors to the senate, and to their ambassadors sent to him, he made the fairest promises. The King of Egypt, too young to determine for himself, was directed by others; and his guardians, at the same time, while they were preparing for war with Antiochus, to secure possession of Cœlesyria, promised the Romans every support in the war against Macedonia. Masinissa not only furnished supplies of corn to the Romans, but prepared to send into the field, to their assistance, a body of troops, and a number of elephants, with his son Misagenes. He so arranged his plans as to answer every event that might take place; for, if success should at-

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XXXI. It was ordered, that four new legions should be raised, two for each consul. For the service in Macedonia, it was judged proper to exceed the usual standard. Instead, therefore, of five thousand foot, and two hundred horse, assigned to the consul's legions according to the ancient practice, six thousand foot and three hundred horse were ordered to be enlisted, for each of the legions that were to serve in Macedonia. Of the allied troops, also, the number was augmented in the army ordered into Macedonia,—namely, sixteen thousand foot and eight hundred horse, besides the six hundred horsemen carried thither by Cneius Sicinius. For Italy, twelve thousand foot and six hundred horse, of the allies, were deemed sufficient. In another instance, an extraordinary degree of attention was shown to the service in Macedonia; for the consul was authorised to enlist veteran centurions and soldiers, whom he chose as old as fifty years. An unusual mode of proceeding, with regard to the military tribunes, was also introduced on the same occasion; for the consuls, by direction of the senate, recommended to the people, that, for that year, the military tribunes should not be created by their suffrages; but that the consuls and prætors should have full power to choose and appoint them. The prætors had their several commands assigned them, in the following manner: he to whose lot it fell to be employed wherever the senate should direct, had orders to go to Brundusium, to the fleet, to review the crews, and, dismissing such men as appeared unfit for the service, to enlist, in their places, sons of freedmen, taking care that two thirds should be Roman citizens, and the remainder allies. For supplying provisions to the ships and legions, from Sicily and Sardinia, it was resolved, that the prætors, who obtained the government of those provinces, should be enjoined to levy a second tenth on the inhabitants, and to take care to have the corn conveyed into Macedonia, to the army. The lots gave Sicily

to Caius Caninius Rebilus; Sardinia, to Lucius Furius Philus; Spain, to Lucius Canuleius; the city jurisdiction, to Caius Sulpicius Galba; and the foreign, to Lucius Villius Annalis. The lot of Caius Lucretius Gallus was, to be employed wherever the senate should direct.

XXXII. The consuls had a slight dispute about their province. Cassius said, that "he would take the command against Macedonia without casting lots, nor could his colleague, without perjury, abide their determination. When he was prætor, to avoid going to his province, he made oath in the public assembly, that he had sacrifices to perform on stated days, in a stated place, and that they could not be duly performed in his absence; and, surely, they could no more be performed duly in his absence, when he was consul, than when he was prætor. If the senate thought proper to pay more regard to what Publius Licinius wished, in his consulship, than to what he had sworn in his prætorship, he himself, for his part, would, at all events, be ruled by that body." When the question was put, the senators thought it would be a degree of arrogance in them to refuse a province to him, whom the Roman people had not refused to elect to the consulship. They, however, ordered the consuls to cast lots. Macedonia fell to Publius Licinius, Italy to Caius Cassius. They then cast lots for the legions; when it fell to the lot of the first and third to go over into Macedonia; and of the second and fourth, to remain in Italy. In making the levies, the consuls took unusual pains. Licinius enlisted even veteran centurions and soldiers; and many of them offered themselves voluntarily, as they saw that those men who had served in the former Macedonian war, or in Asia, had become rich. When the military tribunes cited the centurions, and especially those of the highest rank, twenty-three of them, and who had held the first posts, appealed to the tribunes of the people. Two of that body, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior

and Marcus Claudius Marcellus, wished to refer the matter to the consuls; "the cognizance of it belonging properly to those who had the charge of the levies and of the war:" but the rest declared, that since the appeal had been made to them, they would examine into the affair; and, if there were any injustice in the case, would support their fellow-citizens.

XXXIII. The business, therefore, came into the court of the tribunes. There the consul and the centurions attended, with Marcus Popillius, a man of consular rank, as advocate for the centurions. The consul then required, that the matter might be discussed in a general assembly; and, accordingly, the people were summoned. On the side of the centurions, Marcus Popillius, who had been consul two years before, argued thus: that "as military men, they had served out their regular time, and that their strength was now spent through age and continual hardships. Nevertheless, they did not refuse to give the public the benefit of their services, they only entreated that they might be favoured so far, as not to be appointed to posts inferior to those which they had formerly held in the army." The consul, Publius Licinius, first ordered the decree of the senate to be read, in which war was determined against Perseus; and then the other, which directed, that as many veteran centurions as could be procured should be enlisted for that war; and that no exemption from the service should be allowed to any who was not upwards of fifty years of age. He then entreated that, "at a time when a new war was breaking out, so near to Italy, and with a most powerful King, they would not either obstruct the military tribunes in making the levies, or prevent the consul from assigning to each person such a post as best suited the convenience of the public; and that, if any doubt should arise in the proceedings, it might be referred to the decision of the senate."

XXXIV. When the consul had said all that he thought proper, Spurius Ligustinus, one of those who had appealed to the plebeian tribunes, requested permission from the consul and tribunes to speak a few words to the people; and all having consented, he spoke, we are told, to this effect: "Romans, my name is Spurius Ligustinus; I am of the Crustuminian tribe, and of a family originally Sabine. My father left me one acre of land, and a small cottage, in which I was born and educated, and where I now dwell. As soon as I came to man's estate, my father married me to his brother's daughter, who brought nothing with her but independence and modesty; except, indeed, a degree of fruitfulness that would have better suited a wealthier family. We have six sons and two daughters; the latter are both married; of our sons, four are grown up to manhood, the other two are yet boys. I became a soldier in the consulate of Publius Sulpicius and Caius Aurelius. In the army which was sent over into Macedonia, I served as a common soldier, againt Philip, two years; and in the third year, Titus Quintius Flaminius, in reward of my good conduct, gave me the command of the tenth company of spearmen. When Philip and the Macedonians were subdued, and we were brought back to Italy and discharged, I immediately went a volunteer, with the consul Marcus Porcius, into Spain. That no one commander living was a more accurate observer, and judge of merit, is well known to all who have had experience of him, and of other generals, in a long-course of service. This commander judged me deserving of being set at the head of the first company of spearmen. A third time, I entered a volunteer in the army which was sent against the Ætolians and King Antiochus; and Manius Acilius gave me the command of the first company of first-rank men. After Antiochus was driven out of the country, and the Ætolians were reduced, we were brought home to Italy, where I served the two succeeding years in

legions that were raised annually. I afterwards made two campaigns in Spain; one under Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, the other under Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, prætors. Flaccus brought me with him, among others, to attend his triumph, out of regard to our good services. It was at the particular request of Tiberius Gracchus that I went with him to his province. Four times within a few years was I first centurion of my corps; thirty-four times I was honoured by my commanders with presents for good behaviour. I have received six civic crowns; I have fulfilled twenty-two years of service in the army, and I am upwards of fifty years of age. But, if I had neither served out all my compaigns, nor was entitled to exemption on account of my age, yet, Publius Licinius, as I can supply you with four soldiers instead of myself, I might reasonably expect to be discharged. But what I have said I wish you to consider merely as a state of my case; as to offering any thing as an excuse from service, that is what I will never do, so long as any officer enlisting troops shall believe me fit for it. What rank the military tribunes may think I deserve, they themselves can best determine. That no one in the army may surpass me, in a zealous discharge of duty, I shall use my best endeavours; and that I have always acted on that principle, my commanders and my comrades can testify. And now, fellow-soldiers, you who assert your privilege of appeal, as you have never, in your youthful days, done any act contrary to the directions of the magistrates and the senate, so will it be highly becoming in you to show yourselves obedient to their orders, and to think every post honourable in which you can act for the defence of the commonwealth."

XXXV. Having finished his speech, he was highly commended by the consul, who led him, from the assembly, into the senate-house, where, by order of the senate, he again received public thanks; and the military tribunes, in considera-

tion of his meritorious behaviour, made him first centurion in the first legion. The rest of the centurions, dropping the appeal, enlisted without further demur. That the magistrates might the sooner go into their provinces, the Latine festival was celebrated on the calends of June; and, as soon as that solemnity was ended, Caius Lucretius, the prætor, after sending forward every thing requisite for the fleet, went to Brundusium. Besides the armies which the consuls were forming, Caius Sulpicius Galba, the prætor, was commissioned to raise four city legions, with the regular number of foot and horse, and to choose, out of the senate, four military tribunes to command them; likewise, to require from the Latine allies fifteen thousand foot, with twelve hundred horse, to be held in readiness to act wherever the senate should order. At the desire of the consul, Publius Licinius, the following auxiliaries were ordered to join the army of natives and allies under his command: two thousand Ligurians; a body of Cretan archers, whose number was not specified, the order only mentioning, whatever succours the Cretans, on being applied to, should send; likewise the Numidian cavalry, and elephants. To settle concerning these last, ambassadors were sent to Masinissa and the Carthaginians,—Lucius Postumius Albinus, Quintus Terentius Culleo, and Caius Aburius: also, to Crete,—Aulus Postumius Albinus, Caius Decimius, and Aulus Licinius Nerva.

XXXVI. At this time arrived ambassadors from Perseus, who were not suffered to come into the city; as the senate had already decreed, and the people had ordered, a declaration of war against the Macedonians. The senate gave them audience in the temple of Bellona, when they spoke to this purport: that "King Perseus wondered what could be their motive for transporting troops into Macedonia; and that if the senate could be prevailed on to recall them, the King would satisfactorily account for any injuries of which their

allies might complain." Spurius Carvilius had been sent home from Greece, by Cneius Sicinius, for the purpose of attending this business, and was present in the senate. He charged the King with the storming of Perrhæbia, the taking of several cities of Thessaly, and other enterprises, in which he was either actually employed or preparing to engage; and the ambassadors were called on to answer to those points. This they declined, declaring that they had no farther instructions. On which they were ordered to tell their King, that "the consul Publius Licinius would soon be in Macedonia at the head of an army. To him he might send ambassadors, if he were disposed to make satisfaction, but he need send none to Rome; nor would they be suffered to pass through Italy." After they were thus dismissed, a charge was given to Publius Licinius, to insist on their quitting Italy within eleven days, and to send Spurius Carvilius to guard them, until they embarked. Such were the transactions at Rome, before the departure of the consuls for their provinces. Cneius Sicinius, who, before the expiration of his office, had been sent to Brundusium to the fleet and army, had by this time transported into Epirus, five thousand foot and three hundred horse, and was encamped at Nimphæum, in the territory of Apollonia. From thence he sent tribunes, with two thousand men, to take possession of the forts of the Dassaretians and Illyrians; those people themselves having invited him to establish garrisons, to secure them from the inroads of the Macedonians in their neighbourhood.

XXXVII. A few days after, Quintus Marcius, Aulus Atilius, Publius Cornelius Lentulus, Servius Cornelius Lentulus, and Lucius Decimius, who were appointed ambassadors to Greece, carried with them one thousand soldiers to Corcyra; where they divided the troops among them, and settled what districts they were to visit. Decimius was fixed on to go to Gentius, King of Illyria, with instructions to sound

him, as to whether he retained any regard for former friendship; and even to prevail on him to take part in the war. The two Lentuluses were sent to Cephallenia, that from thence they might cross over into Peloponnesus; and, before the winter, make a circuit round the western coast. Marcius and Atilius were appointed to visit Epirus, Ætolia, and Thessaly; they were directed to take a view afterwards of Bœotia and Eubœa, and then to pass over to Peloponnesus, where, by appointment, they were to meet the Lentuluses. Before they set out on their several routes from Corcyra, a letter was brought from Perseus, inquiring the reason of the Romans sending troops into Greece, and taking possession of the cities. They did not think proper to give him any answer in writing; but they told his messenger, who brought the letter, that the motive of the Romans was, the securing the safety of the cities themselves. The Lentuluses, going round the cities of Peloponnesus, exhorted all the states, without distinction, as they had assisted the Romans with fidelity and spirit, first in the war with Philip, and then in that with Antiochus, to assist them now, in like manner, against Perseus. This occasioned some murmuring in the assemblies; for the Achæans were highly offended, that they, who, from the very first rise of the war with Macedonia, had given every instance of friendship to the Romans, and taken an active part against Philip, should be treated on the same footing with the Messenians and Elians, who had borne arms on the side of Antiochus against the Roman people, and who, being lately incorporated in the Achæan union, made heavy complaints, as if they were made over to the victorious Achæans as a prize.

XXXVIII. Marcius and Atilius, going up to Gitanæ, a town of Epirus, about ten miles from the sea, held there a council of the Epirotes, in which they were listened to with universal approbation; and they sent thence four hundred

young men of that country to Orestæ, to protect those whom they had freed from the dominion of the Macedonians. From this place they proceeded into Ætolia; where, having waited a few days, until a prætor was chosen, in the room of one who had died, and the election having fallen on Lyciscus, who was well known to be a friend to the interest of the Romans, they passed over into Thessaly. There they were attended by envoys from the exiled Acarnanians and Bœotians. The Acarnanians had orders to represent, that "whatever offences they had been guilty of towards the Romans, first in the war with Philip, and afterwards in that with Antiochus, in consequence of being misled by the professions of those kings, they had found an opportunity to expiate. As, when their demerits were great, they had experienced the clemency of the Roman people, so they would now, by their endeavours to merit favour, make trial of its generosity." The Bœotians were upbraided with having united themselves in alliance with Perseus; but they threw the blame on Ismeneas, the leader of a party, and alleged, that "several states were drawn into that measure, contrary to their own judgment:" to which Marcius replied, that "this would appear, for it was intended to give to every one of the states the power of judging for itself." The council of the Thessalians was held at Larissa. At this meeting, both parties had abundant matter for mutual expressions of gratitude: the Thessalians, for the blessing of liberty conferred on them; and the ambassadors, for the vigorous assistance afforded by the Thessalians, in the wars with Philip and Antiochus. Their reciprocal acknowledgments of past favours kindled such zeal in the breasts of the assembly, that they voted every measure desired by the Romans. Soon after this meeting, ambassadors arrived from King Perseus, whose principal inducement to this step was, the hope he derived from a connexion of hospitality subsisting between him and Marcius, which was

formed by their fathers. The ambassadors began with reminding him of this bond of amity, and then requested him to give the King an opportunity of conferring with him. Marcius answered, that "he had received from his father the same account of the friendship and hospitable connexion between him and Philip; and the consideration of that connexion induced him to undertake the present embassy. That he had not so long delayed to give the King a meeting, could it have been done without inconvenience; and that now he and his colleague would, as soon as it should be in their power, come to the river Peneus, where the passage was from Omolium to Dium; of which they would send notice to the King."

XXXIX. Perseus, on this, withdrew from Dium into the heart of the kingdom, having conceived some degree of hope from the expression of Marcius, that he had undertaken the embassy out of regard to him. After a few days they all met at the appointed place. The King came surrounded by a multitude both of friends and guards. The train of the ambassadors was not less numerous, for they were accompanied by a great many from Larissa, and by the delegates of many states, who had met them there, wishing to carry home information on the positive testimony of what themselves should hear. All men felt a strong curiosity to behold a meeting between so powerful a King, and the ambassadors of the first people in the world. After they came within sight, on the opposite sides of the river, some time was spent in sending messengers from one to the other, to settle which should cross it; for one party thought the compliment due to royal majesty, the other to the fame of the Roman people, especially as Perseus had requested the conference. A jocular expression of Marcius put an end to the difficulty:—"Let the younger," said he, "cross over to the elder; the son to the father:" for his own surname was Philip.

The King was easily persuaded to comply; but then another perplexity arose, about the number he should bring over with him. He thought it would be proper to be attended by his whole retinue; but the ambassadors required, that he should either come with three attendants only; or, if he brought so great a band, that he should give hostages that no treachery should be used during the conference. He accordingly sent as hostages, Hippias and Pantaucus, two of his particular friends, and whom he had sent as ambassadors. The intent of demanding hostages was, not so much to get a pledge of good faith, as to demonstrate to the allies, that the King did not meet the ambassadors on a footing of equal dignity. Their salutations were not like those between enemies, but kind and friendly; and seats being placed for them, they sat down together.

XL. After a short silence, Marcius began thus: "I suppose you expect us to give an answer to your letter, sent to Corcyra, in which you ask the reason, why we ambassadors come attended by soldiers, and why we send garrisons into the cities? To this question it is painful to me either to refuse an answer, lest I should appear too haughty; or to give a true one, lest, to your ears, it might seem too harsh. But since the person who infringes a treaty must be reproved, either with words or with arms, as I could wish that any other, rather than myself, should be employed in a war against you, so I will undergo the task, however disagreeable, of uttering rough language against my friend, as physicians, for the recovery of health, sometimes apply painful remedies. The senate is of opinion, that, since you came to the throne, you have acted but in one particular as you ought to have done, and that is, in sending ambassadors to Rome to renew *the treaty made with your father,—which yet it would have been better never to have renewed*, they think, than afterwards to violate it. You expelled from his throne Abrupolis, an

ally and friend of the Roman people. You gave refuge to the murderers of Artetarus, thereby showing that you were pleased at their act, to say nothing worse; though they put to death a prince, who, of all the Illyrians, was the most faithful to the Roman nation. You marched with an army through Thessaly and the Malian territory to Delphi, contrary to the treaty. You likewise, in violation of it, sent succours to the Byzantians. You concluded and swore to a separate alliance with the Bœotians our confederates, which you had no right to do. As to Eversa and Callicritus, the Theban ambassadors, who were slain in returning from Rome, I wish rather to inquire who were their murderers, than to charge the fact on any one. To whom else than your agents can the civil war in Ætolia, and the deaths of the principal inhabitants, be imputed? The country of the Dolopians was ravaged by you in person. King Eumenes, on his way from Rome to his own dominions, was almost butchered, as a victim, at the altars in consecrated ground, at Delphi, and it grieves me to know the person whom he accuses. With regard to the secret crimes which the host at Brundusium states in his communication, I take for granted that you have received full accounts, both by letter from Rome, and the report of your own ambassadors. There was one way by which you might have avoided hearing of these matters from me, which was, by not inquiring why we brought troops into Macedonia, or sent garrisons into the cities of our allies. When you had asked the question, it would have been more blameable to keep silence, than to answer according to truth. Out of regard to the friendship derived to us from our fathers, I am really disposed to listen favourably to whatever you may say, and shall be happy if you afford me any grounds on which I may plead your cause before the senate."

XLI. To this the King answered,—"A cause which would approve itself good, if tried before impartial judges, I

am to submit to the opinion of judges, who are, at the same time, my accusers. Of the facts laid to my charge, some are of such a nature, that I know not whether I ought not to glory in them; others there are, which I shall confess without a blush; and others, which, as they rest on bare assertions, it will be sufficient to deny. Supposing that I were this day to stand a trial, according to your laws, what does either the Brundusian informer, or Eumenes, allege against me that would be deemed a well-founded accusation, and not rather a malicious aspersion? Had Eumenes (although both in his public and private capacity he has done many grievous injuries to so many people) no other enemy than me? Could I not find a better agent for the perpetration of wickedness than Rammius, whom I had never seen before, nor had any probability of ever seeing again? Then, I must give an account of the Thebans, who, it is well known, perished by shipwreck: and of the death of Artetarus; with regard to whom nothing more is alleged against me, than that the persons who killed him lived in exile in my dominions. To such reasoning as this, unfair as it is, I will not object on my part, provided you will admit it on yours; and will acknowledge that, whatever exiles have taken refuge in Rome or in Italy, you are yourselves abettors of the crimes for which they have been condemned. If you admit not this principle, as other nations will not, neither will I. In truth, to what purpose should people be allowed to go into exile, if they are no where to be admitted? As soon, however, as I understood from your representations, that those men were in Macedonia, I ordered that search should be made for them, and that they should quit the kingdom; and I prohibited them for ever from setting foot in my dominions. On these articles, indeed, I stand accused as a criminal; the others affect me as a King, and must be decided by the terms of the treaty subsisting between you and me. For if it is thus expressed in that treaty, that,

even in case of war being made on me, I am not permitted to protect my kingdom; I must then confess I have infringed it, by defending myself with arms against Abrupolis, an ally of the Roman people. But, on the other hand, if it is both allowed by the treaty, and is an axiom established by the law of nations, that force may be repelled by force; how, I pray you, ought I have acted, when Abrupolis had spread devastation over the frontiers of my kingdom, as far as Amphipolis, carried off great numbers of free persons, a vast multitude of slaves, and many thousands of cattle? Ought I to have lain quiet, and let him proceed until he came in arms to Pella, into my very palace? But, allowing the justice of the war waged against him, yet he ought not to have been subdued, and made to suffer the evils incident to the vanquished. Nay, but when I, who was the person attacked, underwent the hazard of all these, how can he, who was the cause of the war, complain, if they happened to fall upon himself? As to my having punished the Dolopians by force of arms, I mean not, Romans, to use the same mode of defence; because, whether they deserved that treatment or not, I acted in right of my own sovereign authority: for they were my subjects, were under my dominion, annexed to my father's territories by your decree. Nor, if I were to give an account of my conduct, I do not say to you, nor other my confederates, but even to such as disapprove of a severe and unjust exercise of authority, even over slaves, would it appear that I have carried my severity against them beyond the limits of justice and equity; for they slew Euphranor, the governor, whom I had set over them, after using him in such a manner, that death was the slightest of his sufferings.

XLII. "But, it seems, when I proceeded to visit Larissa, Antron, and Pteleos, (that I might be within a convenient distance to pay vows, due long before,) I went up to Delphi in order to offer sacrifice; and here, with the purpose of

aggravating the imputed guilt, it is subjoined, that I was attended by an army, with intent to do what I now complain of your doing,—to seize the towns, and put garrisons in them. Now, call together, in assembly, the states of Greece, through which I marched; and if any one person complain of ill treatment, offered by a soldier of mine, I will not deny that, under a pretence of sacrificing, I covered other designs. We sent aid to the Ætolians and Byzantians, and made a treaty of friendship with the Bœotians. These proceedings, of whatever nature they may be, have been repeatedly avowed by my ambassadors; and, what is more, excused before your senate, where I had several of my judges not so favourable as you, Quintus Marcius, my paternal friend and guest. But at that time, my accuser, Eumenes, had not come to Rome; one, who, by misrepresenting and distorting every occurrence, rendered it suspicious and odious, and endeavoured to persuade you, that Greece could not be free, nor enjoy the benefit of your kindness, while the kingdom of Macedonia subsisted. The wheel will come round; people will soon be found who will insist, that Antiochus was in vain removed beyond the mountains of Taurus; that Eumenes is more burthensome to Asia than was Antiochus; and that your allies can never enjoy quiet so long as there is a palace at Pergamus: for this was raised as a citadel over the heads of the neighbouring states. Quintus Marcius and Aulus Atilius, I am aware that the charges which you have made against me, and the arguments which I urged in my defence, will have just so much weight, as the ears and the tempers of the hearers are disposed to allow them; and that the question what I have done, or with what intention, is not of so much importance, as what construction you may put on what has been done. I am conscious to myself, that I have not, knowingly, done wrong; and that, if through imprudence I have fallen into any error, the reproofs which I have

now received are sufficient to correct and reform me. I have certainly committed no fault that is incurable, or deserving of punishment by war and plunder: for, surely, the fame of your clemency and consistency of conduct, spread over the world, is ill-founded, if, on such causes as scarcely justify complaint or expostulation, you take up arms against kings in alliance with you."

XLIII. Marcius, for the time, assented to the reasonableness of what he urged; and recommended it to him to send ambassadors to Rome, as he thought it best to try every expedient to the last, and to omit nothing that might afford any prospect of peace. It remained to be considered, how the ambassadors might travel with safety; and although, to this end, it was necessary that the King should ask a truce, which Marcius wished for, and in fact had no other view in consenting to the conference, yet he granted it with apparent reluctance, and as a great favour to the person requesting it. At that juncture, the Romans had made few preparations for war; they had no army, no general: whereas Perseus had every thing prepared and ready: and if a vain hope of peace had not blinded his judgment, he might have commenced hostilities at a time most advantageous to himself, and distressing to his enemies. At the breaking up of this conference, (the truce being ratified by both parties,) the Roman ambassadors bent their route towards Bœotia, where great commotions were now beginning; for several of the states withdrew themselves from the union of the general confederacy of the Bœotians, on being told the answer of the ambassadors, that "it would appear what particular states were displeased at the forming of the alliance with the King." First, deputies from Chæronea; then, others from Thebes, met the Romans on the road, and assured them, that they were not present in the council, wherein that alliance was resolved on. The ambassadors gave them no answer

at the time, but ordered that they should go with them to Chalcis. At Thebes a violent dissension arose out of another contest. The party defeated in the election of prætors of Bœotia, resolving to revenge the affront, collected the multitude, and passed a decree at Thebes, that the new Bœotarchs should not be admitted into the cities. All the persons thus exiled, betook themselves to Thespiæ, where they were received without hesitation; and, the people's minds changing, they were recalled to Thebes. There they got a decree passed, that the twelve persons, who, without being invested with public authority, had held an assembly and council, should be punished by banishment: and afterwards, the new prætor, Ismenias, a man of distinction and power, procured another, condemning them, although absent, to capital punishment. They had fled to Chalcis; and, from thence, they proceeded to Larissa, to the Romans; to whom they represented, that Ismenias alone was to be blamed for the alliance concluded with Perseus. The contest originated in a party-dispute; yet ambassadors from both sides waited on the Romans, as did the exiles, accusers of Ismenias, and Ismenias himself.

XLIV. When they were all arrived at Chalcis, the chiefs of the other states, each by a particular decree of their own, renounced the alliance of Perseus, and joined themselves to the Romans. Ismenias recommended, that the Bœotian nation should be placed under the orders of Rome; on which so violent a dispute arose, that, if he had not fled for shelter to the tribunal of the ambassadors, he would have been in the most imminent danger of losing his life by the hands of the exiles and their abettors. Thebes itself, the capital of Bœotia, was in a violent ferment, one party struggling hard to bring the state over to the King, the other to the Romans; and multitudes had come together, from Coronæ and Haliartus, to support the decree in favour of Perseus. But the firmness of the chiefs (who desired them to judge, from the

defeats of Philip and Antiochus, how great must be the power and fortune of the Roman empire) so far prevailed on the people, that they not only passed a resolution to cancel the alliance of the King; but also, to gratify the ambassadors, sent the promoters of that alliance to Chalcis; and ordered, that the state should be recommended to the protection of the Romans. This deputation from the Thebans gave great joy to Marcius and Atilius, and they advised the states to send separate embassies to Rome to make a renewal of friendship. They required, as an essential point, that the exiles should be restored; and passed a sentence, condemning the advisers of the treaty with the King. Having thus disunited the members of the Bœotian council, which was their grand object, they proceeded to Peloponnesus, first sending for Servius Cornelius to Chalcis. An assembly was summoned to meet them at Argos, where they demanded nothing more from the Achæans, than the furnishing of one thousand soldiers, which were sent to secure Chalcis until a Roman army should come into Greece.

XLV. Marcius and Atilius, having finished the business that was to be done in Greece, returned to Rome in the beginning of winter. An embassy had been dispatched thence, about the same time, into Asia, to the several islands. The ambassadors were three; Tiberius Claudius, Publius Postumius, and Marcus Junius. These, making a circuit among the allies, exhorted them to undertake the war against Perseus, in conjunction with the Romans; and the more powerful any state was, the more zealous were they in their applications, judging that the smaller states would follow the lead of the greater. The Rhodians were esteemed of the utmost consequence on every account; because they could not only countenance the war, but support a great share of it by their own strength, having, pursuant to the advice of Hegesilochus, forty ships ready for sea. This man being chief magistrate,

whom they call Prytanis, had, by many arguments, prevailed on the Rhodians to banish those hopes, which they had conceived from courting the favour of Kings, and which they had, in repeated instances, found fallacious; and to cherish carefully the alliance of Rome, the only one at that time in the world that could be relied on for stability, whether power or fidelity were to be considered. He told them, that "a war was upon the point of breaking out with Perseus: that the Romans would expect the same naval armament which they had seen lately in that with Antiochus, and formerly in that with Philip: that they would be hurried, in the hasty equipment of a fleet, at a time when it ought to be at sea, unless they immediately set about the repairing and manning of their ships: and that this they ought to do with the greater diligence, in order to refute, by the evidence of facts, the imputations thrown on them by Eumenes." Roused by these arguments, they rigged and fitted out a fleet of forty ships, which they showed to the Roman ambassadors on their arrival, to convince them they had not waited to be solicited. This embassy had great effect in conciliating the affections of the states in Asia. Decimius alone returned to Rome without effecting any thing, and under the scandalous suspicion of having received money from the Illyrian kings.

XLVI. Perseus, after the conference on the bank of the Peneus, retired into Macedonia, and sent ambassadors to Rome to carry on the negociation for peace commenced with Marcius, giving them letters, to be delivered at Byzantium and Rhodes. The purport of all the letters was the same; that he had conferred with the Roman ambassadors: what he had heard from them, and what he had said, was, however, represented in such colours, as that he might seem to have had the advantage in the debate. In presence of the Rhodians, the ambassadors added, that "they were confident of a continuance of peace, for it was by the advice of Mar-

cius and Atilius that they were sent to Rome. But if the Romans should commence their hostilities, contrary to treaty, it would then be the business of the Rhodians to labour, with all their power and all their interest, for the re-establishment of peace; and that, if their mediation should prove ineffectual, they ought then to take such measures as would prevent the dominion of the whole world from coming into the hands of one only nation. That, as this was a matter of general concern, so it was peculiarly interesting to the Rhodians, as they surpassed the other states in dignity and power, which must be held on terms of servility and dependence, if there were no other resource for redress than the Romans." Both the letter and the discourse of the ambassadors were received by the Rhodians with every appearance of kindness; they had, however, but little efficacy towards working a change in their minds, for by this time the best-judging party had the superior influence. By public order this answer was given;—that "the Rhodians wished for peace; but, if war should take place, they hoped that the king would not expect or require from them any thing that might break off their ancient friendship with the Romans, the fruit of many and great services performed on their part both in war and peace." The Macedonians, on their way home from Rhodes, visited also the states of Bœotia, Thebes, Coronæa, and Haliartus; for it was thought that the measure of abandoning the alliance with the King, and joining the Romans, was extorted from them against their will. The Thebans, though somewhat displeased with the Romans, on account of the sentence passed on their nobles, and the restoration of the exiles, yet suffered not their sentiments to be changed; but the Coronæans and Haliartians, out of a kind of natural attachment to kings, sent ambassadors to Macedonia, requesting the aid of a body of troops to defend them against the insolent tyranny of the Thebans. To this application the King answered, that, "on

account of the truce concluded with the Romans, it was not in his power to send troops; but he recommended to them, to guard themselves against ill-treatment from the Thebans, as far as they were able, without affording the Romans a pretext for venting their resentment on him."

XLVII. When Marcius and Atilius returned to Rome, and reported in the Capitol the result of their embassy, they assumed no greater merit for any one matter, than for having over-reached the King by the suspension of arms, and the hope of peace given him; for "he was so fully provided," they said, "with every requisite for the immediate commencement of war, while on their side no one thing was in readiness, that all the convenient posts might be pre-occupied by him before an army could be transported into Greece: but, in consequence of gaining so much time by the truce, the Romans would begin the war in a state of much better preparation; whereas he would come into the field without any advantage beyond what he already possessed." They mentioned, also, that "they had so effectually disunited the members of the Bœotian council, that they could never again, with any degree of unanimity, connect themselves with the Macedonians." A great part of the senate approved of these proceedings, as conducted with consummate wisdom; but the older members, who retained the ancient simplicity of manners, declared, that, "in the conduct of that embassy, they could discover nothing of the Roman genius. Their ancestors waged war not by stratagems and attacks in the night, nor by counterfeiting flight, and returning unexpectedly on an unguarded foe, nor so as to glory in cunning more than in real valour. Their practice was, to declare their intentions to the party before they entered on action; nay, they sometimes appointed the spot whereon to fight. Actuated by these principles of honour, they gave information to King Pyrrhus of his physician plotting against his life; and, from the same

motive, they delivered, bound, to the Faliscians the betrayer of their children. These were Roman acts, not resulting from the craft of Carthaginians or the subtilty of Greeks, among whom it is reckoned more glorious to deceive an enemy, than to overcome him by force. It sometimes happens that greater present advantages may be acquired by artifice than by bravery. But an adversary's spirit is finally subdued for ever, when the confession has been extorted from him, that he was vanquished, not by artifice, nor by chance, but in a just and open war, in a fair trial of strength hand to hand." Such were the sentiments of the elder members, who did not approve of this modern kind of wisdom. But the majority paid more regard to utility than to honour, and passed a vote approving of Marcius's conduct in his former embassy, at the same time ordering that he should be sent again into Greece with some ships, and with authority to act in other matters as he should judge most conducive to the public good. They also sent Aulus Atilius to keep possession of Larissa in Thessaly; fearing lest, on the expiration of the armistice, Perseus might send troops, and secure to himself that metropolis. For the execution of this design it was ordered, that Atilius should be furnished by Cneius Sicinius with two thousand foot. Publius Lentulus, who had come home from Achaia, was commissioned to take the command of a party of three hundred soldiers, natives of Italy, to fix his quarters with them at Thebes, and to endeavour to keep Bœotia in obedience.

XLVIII. After these preparatory steps were taken, the senate, notwithstanding their determination for war was fixed, yet judged it proper to give audience to the King's ambassadors. Their discourse was, principally, a repetition of what had been urged by Perseus in the conference. The point which they laboured with the greatest earnestness, was, the exculpating him from the guilt of the ambush laid for Eu-

menes; but their arguments carried no degree of conviction, the affair was so notorious. The rest consisted of apologies, and wishes for the continuance of amity. But their hearers were not in a temper to be either convinced or persuaded. They were ordered to quit the city of Rome instantly, and Italy within thirty days. Then Publius Licinius, the consul, to whose lot the province of Macedonia had fallen, was charged to appoint the day for assembling the army as early as possible. Caius Lucretius, the prætor, whose province was the fleet, sailed from the city with forty quinqueremes; for it was judged proper to keep at home, for other exigencies, some of the vessels that were repaired. The prætor sent forward his brother, Marcus Lucretius, with one quinquereme; ordering him to collect from the allies the ships due by treaty, and to join the fleet at Cephallenia. He received from the Rhegians one trireme, from the Locrians two, and from the Bruttians four; and then, coasting along the shore of Italy, until he passed the farthest promontory of Calabria, in the Ionian sea, he shaped his course over to Dyrrachium. Finding there ten barks belonging to the Dyrrachians, twelve belonging to the Issæans, and fifty-four to King Gentius, he affected to understand that they had been brought thither for the use of the Romans; and, carrying them all off, sailed in three days to Corcyra, and thence directly to Cephallenia. The prætor Caius Lucretius set sail from Naples, and, passing the streight, arrived on the fifth day at the same place. There the fleet halted until the land forces should be carried over, and until the transport vessels, which had been separated in the voyage, might rejoin it.

XLIX. About this time the consul Publius Licinius, after offering vows in the Capitol, marched out of the city in his military robes. This ceremony, which is always conducted with great dignity and solemnity, on this occasion particularly engaged people's eyes and thoughts in an unusual degree,

—and this, by reason that they escorted the consul against an enemy formidable and conspicuous both for abilities and resources. Beside, they were drawn together, not only by their desire to pay him the customary respect, but by an earnest wish to behold the show, and to have a sight of the commander, to whose wisdom and conduct they intrusted the maintenance of the public safety. Then occurred such reflections as these: "How various were the chances of war; how uncertain the issue of the contest; how variable the success of arms; how frequent the vicissitudes of losses and successes; what disasters often happened through the unskilfulness and rashness of commanders; and, on the contary, what advantages accrued from their judgment and valour. What human being could yet know either the capacity or the fortune of the consul whom they were sending against the enemy; whether they were shortly to see him at the head of a victorious army mounting the Capitol, in triumph, to revisit the same gods from whom he now took his departure; or whether they were to give a like cause of exultation to their enemies." Then King Perseus, against whom he was going, had a high reputation, derived from the great martial character of the Macedonian nation, and from his father Philip; who, besides many prosperous achievements, had gained a large share of renown even in his war with the Romans. Besides, the name of Perseus himself was formidable, having been, ever since his first accession to the throne, the constant subject of conversation and apprehension on account of the expected war. The consul was accompanied by two military tribunes of consular rank, Caius Claudius and Quintus Mucius; and by three illustrious young men, Publius Lentulus, and two Manlius Acidinuses, one the son of Marcus Manlius, the other of Lucius. With these he went to Brundusium to the army; and sailing over

thence, with all his forces, pitched his camp at Nymphæum, in the territory of Apollonia.

L. A few days before this, Perseus, having learned from his ambassadors, on their return from Rome, that every hope of peace was cut off, held a council, in which a long debate ensued. Some were of opinion, that he ought to pay a tribute, or even to cede a part of his dominions, if that were insisted on; in short, that he ought not to refuse submitting, for the sake of peace, to any hardship whatsoever; and by no means to pursue measures which would expose himself and his kingdom to such a perilous hazard. For, "if he retained undisputed possession of the throne, time and the revolution of affairs might produce many conjunctures, which would enable him not only to recover his losses, but to become formidable to those whom he now had reason to dread." A considerable majority, however, expressed sentiments of a bolder nature. They insisted that "the cession of any part would be followed by that of the whole kingdom. The Romans were in want of neither money nor territory: but they considered that all human affairs, even kingdoms and empires, are subject to many casualties. They had themselves broken the power of the Carthaginians, and settled in their neighbourhood an over-powerful King, as a yoke on their necks; while they had removed Antiochus, and his future successors, beyond the mountains of Taurus. There now remained only the kingdom of Macedonia near in situation, and such as might, in case of any shock being given to the power of Rome, inspire its kings with the spirit of their forefathers. Perseus therefore ought, while his affairs were yet in a state of safety, to consider well in his own mind, whether it were more adviseable to give up one part of his dominions after another, until at length, stripped of all power and exiled from his kingdom, he should be reduced to beg from the Romans, either Samothracia or some other island,

where he might grow old in poverty and contempt: or, on the other hand, to stand forth armed in vindication of his fortune and his honour; and, as is the part of a brave man, either to endure with patience whatever misfortune the chance of war might bring upon him, or by victory deliver the world from the tyranny of Rome. There would be nothing more wonderful, in the Romans being driven out of Greece, than in Hannibal's being driven out of Italy; nor, in truth, did they see how it could consist with the character of the prince, who had shown the utmost vigour in resisting the unjust designs of his brother, aspiring to the throne, after he had fairly obtained it himself, to surrender it up to foreigners. That war was the proper means even for procuring peace, was so generally allowed by all the world, that nothing was accounted more shameful than to yield up a dominion without a struggle, and nothing more glorious than for a prince to have experienced every kind of fortune in the defence of his crown and dignity."

LI. The council was held at Pella, in the old palace of the Macedonian Kings. In conclusion, Perseus said, "Let us then, with the help of the gods, wage war, since that is your opinion;" and, dispatching letters to all the commanders of the troops, he drew together his entire force at Cytium, a town of Macedonia. He himself, after making a royal offering of one hundred victims, which he sacrificed to Minerva, called Alcide, set out for Cytium, attended by a band of nobles and guards. All the forces, both of the Macedonians and foreign auxiliaries, had assembled here before his arrival. He encamped them before the city, and drew them all up, under arms, in order of battle, in a plain. The amount of the whole was forty-three thousand armed men; of whom about one-half composed the phalanx, and were commanded by Hippias of Berœa: there were then two cohorts selected for their superior strength, and the vigour of their age, out of the

whole number of their shield-bearers: these they called a legion, and the command of them was given to Leonatus and Thrasippus of Eulyea. Antiphilus of Edessa commanded the rest of the shield-bearers, about three thousand men. About the same number, of three thousand, was made of Pæonians, and men from Parorea and Parstrymonia (places subject to Thrace), with Agrians, and a mixture of some native Thracians. These had been armed and embodied by Didas, the Pæonian, the murderer of young Demetrius. There were two thousand Gallic soldiers, under the command of Asclepiodotus; three thousand independent Thracians, from Heraclea, in the country of the Sintians, had a general of their own. An equal number nearly of Cretans followed their own general, Susus of Phalasarna, and Syllus of Gnossus. Leonides, a Lacedæmonian, commanded a body of five hundred Greeks, of various descriptions; this man was said to be of the royal blood, and had been condemned to exile in a full council of the Achæans on account of a letter to Perseus, which was intercepted. The Ætolians and Bœotians, in all not exceeding the number of five hundred, were commanded by Lycho, an Achæan. These auxiliaries, composed of so many states and so many nations, made up about twelve thousand fighting men. Of cavalry, he had collected from all parts of Macedonia, three thousand; and Cotys, son of Seutha, King of the Odrysian nation, was arrived with one thousand chosen horsemen, and nearly the same number of foot. The total number was thirty-nine thousand foot, and four thousand horse. Most certainly, since the army which Alexander the Great led into Asia, no King of Macedonia had ever been at the head of so powerful a force.

LII. It was now twenty-three years since peace had been granted to the suit of Philip; and Macedonia, having through all that period enjoyed quiet, was become exceedingly populous, and very many were now grown up, and become quali-

fied for the duties of the field; the unimportant wars also, which they had sustained with the neighbouring states of Thrace, had given them exercise rather than fatigue, so that they were in continual practice of military service. Besides, as a war with Rome had been long meditated by Philip, first, and afterwards by Perseus, every requisite preparation was fully completed. The troops performed some few movements, but not the regular course of exercise, only that they might not seem to have stood motionless under arms. He then called them, armed as they were, to an assembly. He himself stood on his tribunal, with his two sons, one on each side of him; the elder of whom, Philip, was by birth his brother, his son by adoption; the younger, named Alexander, was his son by birth. The King endeavoured to animate the troops to a vigorous prosecution of the war. He enumerated the instances of injurious treatment practised by the Romans on Philip and himself; told them, that "his father, having been compelled, by every kind of indignity, to resolve on a renewal of hostilities, was, in the midst of his preparations for war, arrested by fate: that, when the Romans sent ambassadors to himself, they at the same time sent troops to seize the cities of Greece: that then, under the pretext of re-establishing peace, they spun out the winter, by means of a fallacious conference, in order to gain time to put themselves in force; that their consul was now coming, with two Roman legions, containing each six thousand foot and three hundred horse, and nearly the same number of auxiliaries; and that, should they even be joined by the troops of Eumenes and Masinissa, yet these could not amount to more than seven thousand foot and two thousand horse." He desired them, "after hearing the state of the enemy's forces, to reflect on their own army, how far it excelled, both in number and in the qualifications of the men, a body of raw recruits, enlisted hastily for the present occasion; whereas themselves had from child-

hood been instructed in the military art, and had been disciplined and seasoned in a course of many wars. The auxiliaries of the Romans were Lydians, Phrygians, and Numidians; while his were Thracians and Gauls, the fiercest nations in the world. Their troops had such arms as each needy soldier procured for himself: but those of the Macedonians were furnished out of the royal stores, and had been made with much care, at the expence of his father, in a course of many years. Provisions they must bring from a great distance, and subject to all the hazards of the sea; while he, besides his revenue from the mines, had laid up a store, both of money and food, sufficient for the consumption of ten years. Every advantage in point of preparation, that depended on the kindness of the gods, or the care of their sovereign, the Macedonians possessed in abundance: it would, therefore, become them to show the same spirit which animated their forefathers; who, after subduing all Europe, passed over into Asia, and opened by their arms a new world unknown even by report, and never ceased to conquer until they were stopped by the Red Sea, and when nothing remained for them to subdue. But the contest, to which Fortune now called them, was not about the remotest coasts of India, but, in truth, about the possession of Macedonia itself. When the Romans made war on his father, they held out the specious pretence of liberating Greece; now, they avowedly aimed at reducing Macedonia to slavery, that there might be no King in the neighbourhood of the Roman empire, and that no nation renowned in war should have the possession of arms; for these must be delivered up to their imperious masters, together with the King and kingdom, if they chose to decline a war, and submit to obey their orders."

LIII. During the course of his speech, he was frequently interrupted by the exclamations of the multitude; but, on his uttering the last expression, their vociferations became so

loud, expressing indignation and menaces against the foe, and urging him to act with spirit, that he put an end to his discourse. He only ordered them to be ready to march; because it was reported that the Romans were quitting their camp at Nymphæum; and then, dismissing the assembly, he went to give audience to deputies from the several states of Macedonia, who were come with offers of money and corn, in proportion to the abilities of each. He gave thanks to all, but declined their proffers; telling them that the royal stores were sufficient to answer every purpose. He only desired them to provide carriages, for the conveyance of the engines, and the vast quantity of missile weapons that was prepared, with other military implements. He then put his army in motion, directing his route to Eordea; and, after encamping at the lake Begorrites, advanced, next day, into Elimea, to the river Haliacmon. Then, passing the mountains through a narrow defile, called Cambunii, he marched against the inhabitants of the district called Tripolis, consisting of Azoras, Pythios, and Doliche. These three towns hesitated, for a little time, because they had given hostages to the Larissæans; but the view of immediate danger prevailed on them to capitulate. He received them with expressions of favour, not doubting that the Perrhæbians would be induced to follow their example; and accordingly, on his first arrival, he got possession of their city, without any reluctance being shown on the part of the inhabitants. He was obliged to use force against Cyretiæ, and was even repulsed the first day by bodies of armed men, who defended the gates with great bravery; but, on the day following, having assaulted the place with all his forces, he brought them to a surrender, before night.

LIV. Mylæ, the next town, was so strongly fortified, that the inhabitants, from the hope of their works being impregnable, had conceived too great a degree of confidence. Not content with shutting their gates against the King, they as-

sailed him with opprobrious sarcams, on himself and on the Macedonians; which behaviour, while it provoked the enemy to attack them with greater rancour, kindled a greater ardour in themselves to make a vigorous defence, as they had now no hopes of pardon. During three days, therefore, uncommon spirit was displayed both in the assault and in the defence. The great number of Macedonians made it easy for them to relieve each other, and to support the fight by turns; but, on the part of the besieged, as the same persons were employed night and day, they were quite exhausted, not only by wounds, but by watching and incessant labour. On the fourth day, the scaling-ladders being raised on all sides, and one of the gates being attacked with unusual force, the townsmen, who were beaten off the walls, ran together to secure the gate, by which they made a sudden sally. This was the effect rather of inconsiderate rage, than of a well-grounded confidence in their strength: and the consequence was, that, being few in number, and worn down with fatigue, they were routed by men who were fresh; and, having turned their backs, and fled through the open gate, they gave entrance to the enemy. The city, thus taken, was plundered, and even the persons of free condition who survived the carnage, were sold. The King, after dismantling the place, and reducing it to ashes, removed, and encamped at Phalanna; and next day arrived at Gyrton; but, understanding that Titus Minucius Rufus, and Hippias, prætor of the Thessalians, had gone into the town with a body of troops, without even attempting a siege, he passed by, and received the submission of Elatia and Gonni, whose inhabitants were dismayed by his unexpected arrival. Both these towns, particularly Gonni, stand at the entrance of the pass which leads to Tempe; he therefore left the latter under an able guard of horse and foot, and strengthened it, besides, with a triple trench and rampart. Advancing to Sycurium, he determined to wait

there the approach of the Romans; at the same time he ordered his troops to collect corn from all parts that owned the enemy's authority: for Sycurium stands at the foot of Mount Ossa, the southern side of which overlooks the plains of Thessaly, and the opposite side Macedonia and Magnesia. Besides these advantages of situation, the place enjoys a most healthful air, with abundance of water, from numerous and never-failing springs in every quarter.

LV. About the same time the Roman consul, marching towards Thessaly, at first found the roads of Epirus clear and open; but afterwards, when he proceeded into Athamania, where the country is rugged, he encountered such difficulties as to be obliged to make very short marches, and endured much fatigue, before he could reach Gomphi. If, while he was leading his raw troops through such a territory, and while both his men and horses were debilitated by constant toil, the King had opposed him with his army in proper order, and at an advantageous place and time, the Romans themselves do not deny, that the battle must have been attended with very great loss on their side. When they arrived at Gomphi, without opposition, as they felt much joy at having effected their passage through such a dangerous road, so they conceived great contempt of the enemy, who showed such utter ignorance of their own advantages. The consul, after duly offering sacrifice, and distributing corn to the troops, halted a few days, to give rest to the men and horses; and then, hearing that the Macedonians were over-running Thessaly, and wasting the country of the allies, as all were by this time sufficiently refreshed, he marched on to Larissa. Proceeding thence, when he came within about three miles of Tripolis, called Scea, he encamped on the river Peneus. In the mean time, Eumenes arrived by sea at Chalcis, accompanied by his brothers Attalus and Athenæus, (bringing with him two thousand foot, the command of whom he gave to

the latter,) having left his other brother Philetærus at Pergamus, to manage the business of his kingdom. From thence, with Attalus and four thousand foot and one thousand horse, he came and joined the consul: whither also arrived parties of auxiliaries from every one of the states of Greece; but most of them so small, that their numbers have not been transmitted to us. The Apollonians sent three hundred horse and one hundred foot. Of the Ætolians came a number equal to one cohort, being the entire cavalry of the nation; those of the Thessalians acted separately. The Romans had not in their camp above three hundred horse of their own. The Achæans furnished one thousand young men, armed mostly in the Cretan manner.

LVI. In the mean time, Caius Lucretius the prætor and naval commander at Cephallenia, ordered his brother Marcus Lucretius to conduct the fleet along the coast of Malea to Chalcis; and going himself on board a trireme, he sailed to the Corinthian gulf, that he might, as early as possible, put the affairs of Bœotia on a proper footing; but the voyage proved tedious to him, particularly from the weak state of his health. Marcus Lucretius, on his arrival at Chalcis, hearing that Haliartus was besieged by Publius Lentulus, sent a messenger to him, with an order, in the prætor's name, to retire from the place: accordingly, the lieutenant-general, who had undertaken this enterprise with Bœotian troops, raised out of the party that sided with the Romans, abandoned the town. But the raising of this siege only made room for a new one: for Marcus Lucretius immediately invested Haliartus with troops from on board the fleet, amounting to ten thousand effective men, and who were joined by two thousand of the King's forces under Athenæus. Just when they were preparing for an assault, the prætor came up from Creusa. At the same time, several ships sent by the allies arrived at Chalcis; two Carthaginian quinqueremes,

two triremes from Heraclea in Pontus, four from Chalcedon, a like number from Samos, and also five quinqueremes from Rhodes. The prætor, having no enemy to oppose at sea, excused the allies from this service. Quintus Marcius also brought his squadron to Chalcis, having taken Alope, and laid siege to Larissa, called likewise Cremaste. While the affairs of Bœotia were in this state, Perseus, who, as has been mentioned, lay encamped at Sycurium, after drawing in the corn from all the adjacent parts, sent a detachment to ravage the lands of the Pheræans; hoping that the Romans might be drawn away from their camp to succour the cities of their allies, and then be caught at a disadvantage. But seeing that his depredations did not induce them to stir, he distributed all the booty, consisting mostly of cattle of all kinds, among the soldiers, that they might feast themselves with plenty. The prisoners he kept.

LVII. Both the consul and the King held councils nearly at the same time, to determine in what manner they should begin their operations. The King assumed fresh confidence, from the enemy having allowed him, without interruption, to ravage the country of the Pheræans; and, in consequence, resolved to advance directly to their camp, and not to suffer them to lie longer inactive. On the other side, the Romans were convinced that their inactivity had created a mean opinion of them in the minds of their allies, who were exceedingly offended at their having neglected to succour the Pheræans. While they were deliberating how they should act, Eumenes and Attalus being present in the council, a messenger in a violent hurry acquainted them, that the enemy were approaching in a great body. On this the council was dismissed, and an order to take arms instantly issued. It was also resolved, that, in the mean time, a party of Eumenes' troops, consisting of one hundred horse, and an equal number of javelin-bearers on foot, should go out to observe the

enemy. Perseus, about the fourth hour of the day, being nearly one thousand paces from the Roman camp, ordered the body of his infantry to halt, and advanced himself in front, with the cavalry and light infantry, accompanied by Cotys and the other generals of the auxiliaries. They were less than five hundred paces distant, when they descried the enemy's horse, which consisted of two cohorts, mostly Gauls, commanded by Cassignatus, and attended by about one hundred and fifty light-infantry, Mysians and Cretans. The King halted, as he knew not the force of the enemy. He then sent forward two troops of Thracians, and two of Macedonians, with two cohorts of Cretans and Thracians. The fight, as the parties were equal in number, and no reinforcements were sent upon either side, ended without any decided advantage. About thirty of Eumenes' men were killed, among whom fell Cassignatus, general of the Gauls. Perseus then led back his forces to Sycurium, and the next day, about the same hour, brought up his army to the same ground, being followed by a number of wagons carrying water; for, in a length of twelve miles of the road, none could be had, and the men were greatly incommoded by the dust: he also considered that, if, on first sight of the enemy, an engagement should take place, they would be greatly distressed in the fight by thirst. The Romans remained quiet, and even called in the advanced guards within the rampart; on which the King's troops returned to their camp. In this manner they acted for several days, still hoping that the Roman cavalry might attack their rear on their retreat, which would bring on a battle; considering, likewise, that when they had once enticed the Romans to some distance from their camp, they could, being superior in both cavalry and light infantry, easily and in any spot face about upon them.

LVIII. Finding that this scheme did not succeed, the King removed his camp; entrenching himself at the distance of five

miles from the enemy. At the first dawn of the next day, having drawn up his line of infantry on the same ground as before, he led up the whole cavalry and light infantry to the enemy's camp. The sight of the dust rising in greater abundance, and nearer than usual, caused a great alarm, though, for some time, little credit was given to the intelligence that was brought; because, during all the preceding days, the Macedonians had never appeared before the fourth hour, and it was now only sunrise. But the shouts set up by great numbers, and the men running off from the gates, soon removed all doubt of the matter, and great confusion ensued. The tribunes, præfects, and centurions, hastened to the general's quarters, and the soldiers to their several tents. Perseus formed his troops within less than five hundred paces of the rampart, round a hill, called Callicinus. King Cotys, at the head of his countrymen, had the command of the left wing, the light infantry being placed between the ranks of the cavalry. On the right wing were the Macedonian horse, with whose troops the Cretans were intermixed. Milo of Berœa had the command of these last; Meno, of Antigone, that of the cavalry, and the chief direction of the whole division. Next to the wings were posted the royal horsemen, and a mixed kind of troops, selected out of the auxiliary corps of many nations; the commanders here were Patrocles of Antigone, and Didas the governor of Pæonia. In the centre was the King; and on each side of him the band called Agema, with the consecrated squadrons of horse; in his front the slingers and javelin-bearers, each body amounting to four hundred. The command of these he gave to Ion of Thessalonice, and Timanor, a Dolopian. Such was the disposition of the King's forces. On the other side, the consul, drawing up his infantry in a line within the trenches, sent out likewise all his cavalry and light infantry, which were marshalled on the outside of the rampart. The command of the right wing,

which consisted of all the Italian cavalry, with light infantry intermixed, was given to Caius Licinius Crassus, the consul's brother. On the left wing, Marcus Valerius Lævinus commanded the cavalry of the allies, sent by the states of Greece, and the light infantry of the same nation; and the centre, under Quintus Mucius, was composed of a chosen body of select horsemen, of the allies. In the front of this body were placed two hundred Gallic horsemen; and of the auxiliaries of Eumenes, three hundred Cyrtians. Four hundred Thessalian horse were posted at a little distance, beyond the left wing. King Eumenes and Attalus, with their whole division, stood on the rear, between the rear rank and the rampart.

LIX. Formed in this manner, and nearly equal in numbers of cavalry and light-infantry, the two parties encountered; the fight being begun by the slingers and javelin-bearers, who preceded the lines. First of all the Thracians, just like wild beasts which had been long pent up, rushing on, with a hideous yell, fell upon the Italian cavalry in the right wing with such fury, that even those men, who were fortified against fear, both by experience in war and by their natural courage, were thrown into disorder. The footmen struck their spears with their swords; sometimes cut the hams of their horse, and sometimes stabbed them in the flanks. Perseus, making a charge on the centre, at the first onset routed the Greeks; and now, the Thessalian cavalry, who had been posted in reserve at a little distance from the left wing, and from their situation had not been engaged, but hitherto mere spectators of the fight, when affairs took this unfortunate turn, were of the utmost service to the Greeks, whose rear was hard pressed by the enemy. For, retreating leisurely, and preserving their order until they joined the auxiliary troops under Eumenes, in concert with him they afforded a safe retreat between their ranks to the confederates, who fled in dis-

order; and as the enemy did not follow in close bodies, they even had the courage to advance, and by that means saved many of the flying soldiers who made towards them. Nor did the King's troops, who, in the ardour of the pursuit had fallen into confusion, dare to encounter men regularly formed, and marching with a steady pace. At this moment, the King, after his success in the fight of the cavalry, might, by a small degree of perseverance, have put an end to the war. The phalanx, however, came up seasonably while he was encouraging his troops; for Hippias and Leonatus, as soon as they heard of the victory gained by the horse, without waiting for orders, advanced with all haste, that they might be at hand to second any spirited design. While the King, struck with the great importance of the attempt, hesitated between hope and fear, Evander the Cretan, who had been employed by him to waylay King Eumenes at Delphi, seeing that body somewhat embarrassed as they advanced round their standards, ran up, and warmly recommended to him, "not to suffer himself to be so far elated by success, as rashly to risk his all on a precarious chance, when there was no necessity for it. If he would content himself with the advantage already obtained, and proceed no farther that day, he would have it in his power to make an honourable peace; or, if he chose to continue the war, he would be joined by abundance of allies, who would readily follow fortune." The King's own judgment rather inclined to this plan; wherefore, after commending Evander, he ordered the infantry to march back to their camp, and gave the signal of retreat to the cavalry. On the side of the Romans there were slain that day two hundred horsemen, and not less than two thousand footmen; about two hundred horsemen were made prisoners; but of the King's only twenty horsemen and forty footmen were killed.

LX. When the victors returned to their camp, all were full of joy, but the Thracians particularly distinguished themselves by the intemperance of their transports; for on their way back they chaunted songs, and carried the heads of the enemy fixed on spears. Among the Romans there was not only grief for their misfortune, but the dread of an immediate attack of the enemy on their camp. Eumenes advised the consul to take post on the other side of the Peneus, that he might have the river as a defence, until the dismayed troops should recover their spirits. The consul was deeply struck with the shame which would attend such an acknowledgment of fear; yet he yielded to reason, and, leading over his troops in the dead of the night, fortified a camp on the farther bank. Next day the King advanced with intent to provoke the enemy to battle; and, on seeing their camp pitched in safety on the other side of the river, admitted that he had been guilty of error in not pushing the victory the day before, and of a still greater fault, in lying idle during the night; for, even by calling forth his light-infantry only, he might in a great measure have destroyed the army of the enemy during their confusion in the passage of the river. The Romans were delivered, indeed, from any immediate fears, as they had their camp in a place of safety; but, among many other afflicting circumstances, their loss of reputation affected them most. In a council held in presence of the consul, every one concurred in throwing the blame on the Ætolians, insisting that the panic and flight took place first among them; and that then the other allied troops of the Grecian states followed their cowardly example. It was asserted, that five chiefs of the Ætolians were the first persons seen turning their backs.

LXI. The Thessalians were publicly commended in a general assembly, and their commanders even received presents for their good behaviour. The spoils of the enemies who fell in the engagement, were brought to the King, out of which

he made presents,—to some, of remarkable armour, to some, of horses, and to others he gave prisoners. There were above one thousand five hundred shields; the coats of mail and breast-plates amounted to more than one thousand, and the number of helmets, swords, and missile weapons of all sorts, was much greater. These spoils, ample in themselves, were much magnified in a speech which the King made to an assembly of the troops: he said, "you have anticipated the issue of the war: you have routed the best part of the enemy's force, the Roman cavalry, which they used to boast of as invincible. For, with them, the cavalry is the flower of their youth; the cavalry is the seminary of their senate; out of them they choose the members of that body, who afterwards are made their consuls; out of them they elect their commanders. The spoils of these we have just now divided among you. Nor have you a less evident victory over their legions of infantry, who, stealing away in the night, filled the river with all the disorderly confusion of people shipwrecked, swimming here and there. But it will be easier for us to pass the Peneus in pursuit of the vanquished, than it was for them in the hurry of their fears; and, immediately on our passing, we will assault their camp, which we should have taken this morning if they had not run away. If they should choose to meet us in the field, be assured that the event of a battle with the infantry will be similar to that of yesterday's dispute with the cavalry." Those troops who had gained the victory, while they bore on their shoulders the spoils of the enemies whom they had killed, were highly animated at hearing their own exploits, and, from what had passed, conceived sanguine hopes of the future; while the infantry, especially those of the Macedonian phalanx, were inflamed with emulation of the glory acquired by the others, wishing impatiently for an opportunity to show their zeal in the King's service, and to acquire equal glory from the defeat of the ene-

my. The King then dismissed the assembly; and next day, marching thence, pitched his camp at Mopsius, a hill situate half way between Tempe and Larissa.

LXII. The Romans, without quitting the bank of the Peneus, removed their camp to a place of greater safety, where they were joined by Misagenes, the Numidian, with one thousand horse, and a like number of foot, besides twenty-two elephants. The King soon after held a council, on the general plan to be pursued; and, as the presumption inspired by the late success had by this time subsided, some of his friends ventured to advise him to employ his good fortune, as the means of obtaining an honourable peace, rather than to let himself be so far transported with vain hopes, as to expose himself to the hazard of an irretrievable misfortune. They observed, that "to use moderation in prosperity, and not to confide too much in the calm of present circumstances, was the part of a man of prudence, who deserved success; and they recommended it to him to send to the consul, to renew the treaty, on the same terms which had been granted to his father by Titus Quintius, his conqueror; for the war could never be terminated in a more glorious manner than by such a memorable battle, nor could any conjuncture afford firmer hopes of a lasting peace, as the Romans, dispirited by their defeat, would be more reasonable in a negotiation. But, should they, with their native obstinacy, refuse to accede to reasonable conditions, then gods and men would bear witness both to the moderation of Perseus, and to the stubborn pride of the others." The King's inclination was never averse from such measures; and the majority, therefore, approved of the advice. The ambassadors sent to the consul, had audience in a full council, summoned for the purpose. They requested, that "a peace might be concluded; promising, that Perseus should pay the Romans the same tribute which was engaged for by Philip, and should evacuate the same

cities, lands, and places, which Philip had evacuated." Such were the proposals of the ambassadors. When they withdrew, and the council took them under consideration, the Roman firmness prevailed in their determination. The practice of that time was, to assume in adversity the countenance of prosperity, and in prosperity to moderate the temper. They resolved to give this answer: "that peace should be granted on this only condition; that the King should refer himself entirely to the senate, who were to make such terms as they thought proper, and to determine concerning him, and concerning all Macedonia." When the ambassadors brought back this answer, such as were unacquainted with their usual mode of acting, were astonished at the obstinate perseverance of the Romans, and most people advised the King to make no farther mention of peace, for "the enemy would soon come to solicit that, which they now disdained when offered." But this haughtiness, as flowing from confidence in their own strength, created no small fears in the breast of Perseus, who continued his endeavours to prevail on the consul, offering a larger sum of money, if a peace might be purchased. The consul adhered inflexibly to his first answer. The King, therefore, at length despairing of success, determined to try again the fortune of war, and marched back to Sycurium.

LXIII. When the news of this battle of the cavalry spread through Greece, it produced a discovery of the wishes of the people. For, not only those who professed an attachment to the Macedonians, but the generality, who were bound to the Romans under the weightiest obligations, and some who had even felt the power and haughty behaviour of the Macedonians,—all received the account with joy; and that, for no other cause, than out of an unaccountable passion, which actuates the vulgar, even in contests of sports, of favouring the worse and weaker party. Meanwhile, in Bœotia, the

prætor Lucretius pushed the siege of Haliartus with all imaginable vigour. The besieged, though destitute of foreign aid, excepting some young Corinæans, who had come into the town at the beginning of the siege, and without hope of relief, yet maintained the defence with courage beyond their strength. They made frequent irruptions against the works; when the ram was applied, they crushed it to the ground by dropping on it a mass of lead; and whenever those who directed the blows, changed their position, they set all hands to work, and, collecting stones out of the rubbish, quickly erected a new wall in the room of that which had been demolished. The prætor, finding that he made but little progress by means of his machines, ordered scaling-ladders to be distributed among the companies, resolving to make a general assault on the walls. He thought the number of his men sufficient for this; beside, that on one side of the city, which is bounded by a morass, it would neither be useful nor practicable to form an attack. Lucretius himself led two thousand chosen men to a place where two towers, and the wall between them, had been thrown down; hoping that, while he endeavoured to climb over the ruins, and the townsmen crowded thither to oppose him, some part or other might be left defenceless, and open to be mastered by scalade. The besieged were not remiss in preparing to repel his assault; for, on the ground, overspread with the rubbish, they placed faggots of dry bushes, and stood with burning torches in their hands, in order to set them on fire; that, being covered from the enemy by the smoke and flames, they might have time to fence themselves with a wall. But this plan was rendered abortive; for there fell suddenly such a quantity of rain, as hindered the faggots from being kindled; so that it was not difficult to clear a passage, by drawing them aside. Thus, while the besieged were attending to the defence of one particular spot, the walls were mounted by scalade in

many places at once. In the first tumult of storming the town, the old men and children, whom chance threw in the way, were put to the sword indiscriminately, while the men who carried arms fled into the citadel. Next day, these, having no remaining hope, surrendered, and were sold by public auction. Their number was about two thousand five hundred. The statues and pictures, with all the valuable booty, were carried off to the ships, and the city was rased to the ground. The prætor then led his army into Thebes, which fell into his hands without a dispute; when he gave the city in possession to the exiles, and the party that sided with the Romans; selling, as slaves, the families of those who were of the opposite faction, and favoured the King and the Macedonians. As soon as he had finished this business in Bœotia, he marched back to the sea-coast to his fleet.

LXIV. During these transactions in Bœotia, Perseus lay a considerable time encamped at Sycurium. Having learned there, that the Romans were busily employed in collecting corn from all the adjacent grounds, and that, when it was brought in, they cut off the ears with sickles, each before his own tent, in order that the grain might be the cleaner when threshed, and had by this means formed large heaps of straw in all quarters of the camp, he conceived that he might set it on fire. Accordingly, he ordered torches, faggots, and bundles of tow, dipped in pitch, to be got ready; and, thus prepared, he began his march at midnight, that he might make the attack at the first dawn, and without discovery. But his stratagem was frustrated: the uproar among the advanced guards, who were surprised, alarmed the rest of the troops: orders were given to take arms with all speed, and the soldiers were instantly drawn up on the rampart and at the gates in readiness to defend the camp. Perseus immediately ordered his army to face about; the baggage to go foremost, and the battalions of foot to follow, while himself,

with the cavalry and light infantry, kept behind, in order to cover the rear; for he expected, what indeed happened, that the enemy would pursue, and harass the hindmost of his troops. There was a short scuffle between the light infantry, mostly in skirmishing parties. The infantry and cavalry returned to their camp, without any disturbance. After reaping all the corn in that quarter, the Romans removed into the territory of Cranno, which was yet untouched. While they lay there, without any apprehension of danger, from which they thought themselves secured by the distance between the camps, and by the difficulty of the march, through a country destitute of water, as was that between Sycurium and Cranno, the King's cavalry and light infantry appeared suddenly, at the dawn of day, on the nearest hills, and caused a violent alarm. They had marched from Sycurium at noon, the preceding day, and had left their body of foot in the next plain. Perseus stood a short time on the hills, in expectation that the Romans might be tempted to come out with their cavalry; but seeing that they did not move, he sent a horseman to order the infantry to return to Sycurium, and he himself soon followed. The Roman horse pursued at a small distance, in expectation of being able to pick up any scattered parties that might separate from the rest; but, seeing them retreat in close order, and attentive to their standards and ranks, they desisted, and returned to their camp.

LXV. The King, disliking such long marches, removed his camp to Mopsium; and the Romans having cut down all the corn about Cranno, marched into the lands of Phalanna. Perseus, being informed by a deserter, that they carried on their reaping there, without any armed guard, straggling at random through the fields, set out with one thousand horsemen and two thousand Thracians and Cretans, and, hastening his march with all possible speed, fell on the Romans while quite unprepared. Nearly a thousand carts, with horses

harnessed to them, most of them loaded, were seized, and about six hundred men were taken. The charge of guarding this booty, and conducting it to the camp, he gave to a party of three hundred Cretans, and calling in the rest of his infantry and the cavalry who were spread about, killing the enemy, he led them against the nearest station, where any of their troops were posted, which he supposed might be overpowered without much difficulty. The commanding officer there was Lucius Pompeius, a military tribune; who, while his men were dismayed by the sudden approach of the enemy, led them off to a hill at a little distance, hoping to defend himself by means of the advantage of the ground, as he was inferior in number and strength. There he collected his men in a circular body, that, by closing their shields, they might guard themselves from arrows and javelins; on which, Perseus, surrounding the hill, ordered a party to strive to climb it on all sides, and come to close fighting, and the rest to throw missile weapons against them from a distance. The Romans were environed with dangers, in whatever manner they acted; for they could not fight in a body, on account of the enemy who endeavoured to mount the hill; and, if they broke their ranks in order to skirmish with these, they were exposed to the arrows and javelins. What galled them most severely was, a new kind of weapon invented in that war, and called Cestrophendanon. A dart, two palms in length, was fixed to a shaft, half a cubit long, and of the thickness of a man's finger, round which, as is commonly done with arrows, three feathers were tied, to balance it. To throw this, they used a sling, which had two beds, unequal in size, and in the length of the strings. When the weapon was balanced in these, and the slinger whirled it round by the longer string and discharged it, it flew with the rapid force of a leaden bullet. When one half of the soldiers had been wounded by these and other weapons of all kinds, and the rest were so

fatigued that they could hardly bear the weight of their arms, the King pressed them to surrender, assured them of safety, and sometimes promised them rewards; but not one could be prevailed on to yield. Just at this juncture, when they had determined to hold out till death, they were unexpectedly cheered by the enlivening prospect of relief. For some of the foragers, having made their escape, and got back to the camp, acquainted the consul that the party was surrounded; whereupon, alarmed for the safety of such a number of his countrymen, (for they were near eight hundred, and all Romans,) he set out with the cavalry and light infantry, joined by the newly-arrived Numidian auxiliaries, horse, foot, and elephants, leaving orders with the military tribunes, that the battalions of the legions should follow. He himself, having strengthened the light-armed auxiliaries with his own light infantry, hastened forward at their head to the hill. He was accompanied by Eumenes, Attalus, and the Numidian prince Misagenes.

LXVI. The first sight of the standards of their friends raised the distressed Romans from the lowest depth of despair, and inspired them with fresh spirits. Perseus's best plan would have been to have contented himself with his accidental good fortune, in having killed and taken so many of the foragers, and not to have wasted time in besieging this detachment of the enemy; or, after he had engaged in the attempt, as he was sensible that he had not a proper force with him, to have gone off, while he might, with safety; instead of which, intoxicated with success, he waited for the arrival of the enemy, and sent people in haste to bring up the phalanx. But it must have come too late for the exigency. From its rapid celerity, too, the men must have engaged in all the disorder of a hurried march, against troops duly formed and prepared. The consul, arriving first, proceeded instantly to action. The Macedonians, for some time, made

resistance; but finding themselves overmatched in every respect, and having lost three hundred foot, and twenty-four of the best of their horse, of what they call the sacred cohort, (among whom fell Antimachus, who commanded that body,) they endeavoured to retreat: but this was conducted in a manner more disorderly and confused than the battle itself. As the phalanx, after receiving the hasty order, was marching at full speed, it met first, in a narrow pass, the carts laden with corn, with the mass of prisoners. These they put to the sword, and both parties suffered by this encounter abundance of trouble and perplexity: but none waited till the troops might pass in some sort of order, but the soldiers tumbled the loads down a precipice, which was the only possible way to clear the road, and the horses being goaded, pushed furiously through the crowd. Scarcely had they disentangled themselves from the disorderly throng of the prisoners, when they met the King's party and the discomfited horsemen. And now the shouts of the men, calling to their comrades to go back, raised a scene of consternation and tumult, not unlike a total rout; insomuch, that if the enemy had ventured to enter the defile, and carry the pursuit a little farther, they might have done them very great damage. But the consul, when he had relieved his party from the hill, content with that moderate share of success, led back his troops to the camp. Some authors affirm, that a general engagement took place that day, in which eight thousand of the enemy were killed, among whom were Sopater and Antipater, two of the King's generals; and about two thousand eight hundred taken, with twenty-seven military standards; that the victory was not without loss on the side of the Romans, for that above four thousand three hundred fell, and five standards of the left wing of the allies were lost.

LXVII. The event of this day revived the spirits of the Romans, and greatly disheartened Perseus; insomuch that,

ter staying at Mopsium a few days, which were employed chiefly in burying his dead, he left a very strong garrison at Gonnus, and led back his army into Macedonia. He left Timotheus, one of his generals, with a small party at Phila, ordering him to endeavour to gain the affection of the Magnesians, and other neighbouring states. On his arrival at Pella, he sent his troops to their winter quarters, and proceeded with Cotys to Thessalonica. There an account was received, that Atlesbis, a petty prince of Thrace, and Corragus, an officer belonging to Eumenes, had made an inroad into the dominions of Cotys, and seized on the district called Marene. Seeing, therefore, the necessity of letting Cotys go home to defend his own territories, he honoured him, at his departure, with very magnificent presents, and paid to his cavalry two hundred talents,* which was but half a year's pay, though he had agreed to give them the pay of a whole year. The consul, hearing that Perseus had left the country, marched his army to Gonnus, in hopes of being able to take that town. It stands directly opposite to the pass of Tempe, and close to the entrance of it; so that it serves as the safest barrier to Macedonia, and renders a descent into Thessaly easy. But the city, from the nature of its situation, and the strength of the garrison, was impregnable; he therefore gave up the design, and turning his route to Perrhæbia, took Mallæa at the first assault, and demolished it; and, after reducing Tripolis, and the rest of Perrhæbia, returned to Larissa. From that place he sent home Eumenes and Attalus, and quartered Misagenes and his Numidians, for the winter, in the nearest towns of Thessaly. One half of his army he distributed through Thessaly, in such a manner, that while all had commodious winter quarters, they served, at the same time, as a defence to the cities. He sent Quintus Mucius,

* 38,750l.

lieutenant-general, with two thousand men, to secure Amdracia, and dismissed all the allied troops belonging to the Grecian states, except the Achæans. With the other half of his army he marched into the Achæan Phthiotis; where, finding Pteleum deserted by the inhabitants, he levelled it to the ground. The people of Antron made a voluntary surrender, and he then marched against Larissa: this city was likewise deserted, the whole multitude taking refuge in the citadel, to which he laid siege. First, the Macedonian garrison, belonging to the King, withdrew through fear; and then the townsmen, on being abandoned by them, surrendered immediately. He then hesitated whether he should first attack Demetrius, or take a view of affairs in Bœotia. The Thebans, being harassed by the Coronæans, pressed him to go into Bœotia; wherefore, in compliance with their entreaties, and because that country would afford better winter quarters than Magnesia, he led his army thither.

THE

HISTORY OF ROME.

BOOK XLIII.

Several prætors punished for cruelty and avarice in the administration of their provinces. Publius Licinius Crassus, proconsul, takes several cities in Greece, which he plunders, and treats the inhabitants with great cruelty; the captives, which he had sold as slaves, restored to their freedom by a decree of the senate. Successful operations of King Perseus in Thrace and Illyricum. Commotions excited in Spain by Olonicus; suppressed.

I. DURING that summer, in which the Romans were worsted in Thessaly in one battle of the cavalry, and successful in another, the lieutenant general, sent by the consul to Illyricum, having reduced, by force of arms, two opulent cities, gave the inhabitants all their effects, in hopes, by the reputation of his clemency, to allure to submission the inhabitants of Carnus, a city strongly fortified. But he could neither persuade them to surrender, nor hope to get the better of them by a siege. That the fatigue, therefore, which his soldiers had undergone in the two sieges, might not be quite fruitless, he sacked those cities, which he had spared before. The other consul, Caius Cassius, performed nothing worth mention in Gaul, the pro-

Y.R.581. B.C.171.

vince that fell to his lot; but made an ill-judged attempt to lead his army through Illyricum to Macedonia. His having undertaken that march the senate learned from deputies of Aquileians, who came to represent, that their colony, which was new, weak, and but indifferently fortified, lay in the midst of hostile states, Istrians and Illyrians; and to beg the senate to take into consideration some method of strengthening it. These, being asked whether they wished that matter to be given in charge to the consul, Caius Cassius, replied, that Cassius, after assembling his forces at Aquileia, had set out on a march through Illyricum into Macedonia. The fact was at first deemed incredible, and it was generally supposed that he had gone on an expedition against the Carnians, or perhaps the Istrians. The Aquileians then said, that all that they knew, or could take upon them to affirm was, that the soldiers had been furnished with corn for thirty days, and that guides, who knew the roads from Italy to Macedonia, had been sought for, and carried with him. The senate were highly displeased that the consul should presume to act so improperly, as to leave his own province, and remove into that of another; leading his army through unknown and dangerous roads, through foreign states, thereby opening, for so many nations, a passage into Italy. It was unanimously decreed, that the prætor Caius Sulpicius should nominate out of the senate three deputies, who should set out that very day, make all possible haste to overtake the consul, and charge him not to engage in any war except that authorized by a vote of the senate. The three deputies accordingly left the city; they were Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, Marcus Fulvius, and Publius Marcius Rex. The fears entertained for the consul and his army caused the business of fortifying Aquileia to be postponed for that time.

II. Then were introduced to the senate ambassadors from several states of both the Spains; who, after complaining of

the avarice and pride of the Roman magistrates, fell on their knees, and implored the senate not to suffer them, who were their allies, to be more cruelly plundered and ill-treated than their enemies. Among other hardships, it was clearly proved, that considerable sums of money had been extorted from them. A charge was therefore given to Lucius Canuleius, the prætor to whom Spain was allotted, to appoint, out of the body of the senate, five judges delegate, to try each person against whom demands of money might be made by the Spaniards; and that they should give the latter power to choose their patrons. The ambassadors were then called into the house; the decree of the senate was read to them, and they were ordered to select their protectors: on which they named four,—Marcus Porcius Cato, Publius Cornelius Scipio, son of Cneius, Lucius Æmilius Paullus, son of Lucius, and Caius Sulpicius Gallus. Their first application to the judges was against Marcus Titinius, who had been prætor in Hither Spain in the consulate of Aulus Manlius and Marcus Junius. The cause was twice adjourned, and on the third hearing the accused was acquitted. A separation took place between the ambassadors of the two provinces; and the states of Hither Spain chose for their patrons, Marcus Cato and Scipio; those of Farther Spain, Lucius Paullus and Sulpicius Gallus. The states of the hither province brought to trial, before the judges, Publius Furius Philus: those of the farther, Marcus Matienus; the former of whom had been prætor, three years before, in the consulate of Spurius Postumius and Quintus Mucius; and the latter, two years before, when Lucius Postumius and Marcus Popillius were consuls. Both were accused of most heinous crimes, and the causes were adjourned; but, upon the re-hearing, it was represented on their behalf, that they had quitted the country, and were gone into voluntary exile,—Furius to Prænęste; Matienus to Tibur. There was a report, that the complainants were not suffered, by

their patrons, to bring charges against people of high birth and power; a suspicion that was strengthened by the behaviour of the prætor Canuleius; for he neglected that business, and applied himself to the enlisting of soldiers; and then suddenly went off to his province, lest more accusations might be brought by the Spaniards. Although past transactions were thus consigned to silence, yet the senate took some care of the interest of the Spaniards in future: they passed an order, that the Roman magistrates should not have the valuation of the corn; nor should they compel the Spaniards to compound for their twentieths, at such prices as they were pleased to impose; and that officers should not be placed in command of their towns for the purpose of exacting money.

III. There came also from Spain, an extraordinary embassy, from a body of men who had never before been heard of. They represented, that they were the offspring of Roman soldiers and Spanish women, who had not been joined in marriage; that their number amounted to more than four thousand; and they petitioned for a grant of some town to be allotted to them for their residence. The senate decreed, that "they should exhibit their pretensions before Lucius Canuleius; and that as many as he should judge deserving of freedom, should be settled as a colony at Carteia, on the ocean. That such of the present inhabitants of Carteia, as wished to remain there, should have the privilege of being considered as colonists, and should have lands assigned them; that this should be deemed a Latine settlement, and be called a colony of freedmen." At this time arrived from Africa, Gulussa, son of King Masinissa, as ambassador from his father; and likewise ambassadors from Carthage. Gulussa was first introduced to the senate, where he gave a detail of the succours sent by his father to the maintenance of the war in Macedonia, and assured them, that if they chose to lay any farther commands on him, he would cheerfully execute

them, in gratitude for the many favours conferred on him by the Roman people. He warned the Conscript Fathers to be on their guard against the treachery of the Carthaginians, who "had formed the design of fitting out a powerful fleet, in favour, as they pretended, of the Romans, and against the Macedonians; but when it should be equipped, and ready for action, they would have it in their power to make their own option which party they would treat as a friend, and which as a foe." * * * * * * *
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Y.R.582.
B.C.170.

IV. *During the following year, in which Aulus Hostilius Mancinus and Aulus Atilius Serranus were consuls, the Celtiberians raised disturbances in Spain, being instigated by a strange kind of leader named Olonicus. He was a man of great cunning and boldness; and showing himself to the people, brandishing a silver spear, which he pretended was sent to him from Heaven, with the agitation of a person inspired, he had attracted universal attention. Having formed the mad design of destroying the Roman general, he came to the camp with a single accomplice in the dusk of the evening, and was killed by a centinel with a javelin. His attendant met with the same fate. The prætor immediately ordered both their heads to be cut off and fixed on spears, and to be sent thus to their camp by some of their prisoners.* When these arrived with their charge, such a panic ensued, that if the Romans had instantly advanced to the camp, they might have taken it: as it was, a general flight took place. Many, on this, advised to send ambassadors, and supplicate for peace; while a great number of states, on hearing of the affair, made their submission. These all asserted their innocence, laying the entire blame on the two who had suffered for their intended crime; on which the prætor granted them pardon,

and proceeded immediately to the other states, every one of which acknowledged his authority; so that in traversing all that tract of country, where, a short time before, the flames of war had raged with the greatest violence, he had not once occasion to employ his arms, but found every thing in a state of peace and quietness. This lenity shown by the prætor, was the more pleasing to the senate and people, as the conduct of the consul Licinius, and the prætor Lucretius, in the war in Greece, had been marked with uncommon avarice and cruelty. The plebeian tribunes, daily, in their speeches to the people, censured Lucretius for being absent, though it was alleged in his favour, that he was abroad on the business of the public. But so little was then known of what passed, even in the vicinity of Rome, that he was, at that very time, at his own estate near Antium; and, with money amassed in his expedition, was bringing water thither from the river Locrina; for the execution of which work, it is said, he had agreed to pay one hundred and thirty thousand *asses**. He also decorated the temple of Æsculapius with pictures taken from among the spoils. But the current of the public displeasure, and of disgrace, was diverted from Lucretius and turned on his successor, by ambassadors who came from Abdera. These stood weeping at the door of the senate-house, and complained, that "their town had been stormed and plundered by Hortensius. His only reason," they said, "for destroying their city was, that, on his demanding from them one hundred thousand denariuses†, and fifty thousand measures of wheat, they had requested time until they could send ambassadors on the subject, both to the consul Hostilius, and to Rome; and that they had scarcely reached the consul, when they heard that the town was stormed, their nobles beheaded, and the rest sold for slaves." At

* 419l. 15s. 10d. † 3,229l. 3s. 4d.

this the senate expressed much indignation, and passed a decree respecting the people of Abdera, of the same purport with that which they had passed concerning the Coronæans. They also ordered Quintus Mænius, the prætor, to publish notice, as had been done the year before, in a general assembly. Two ambassadors, Caius Sempronius Blæsus and Sextus Julius Cæsar, were sent to restore the Abderites to liberty; and were likewise commissioned to deliver a message from the senate to the consul Hostilius, and to the prætor Hortensius, that the senate judged the war made on the Abderites to be unjust, and had directed that all those who were in servitude should be sought out and restored to liberty.

V. At the same time, complaints were made to the senate, by ambassadors from Cincibilus, a King of the Gauls, against Caius Cassius, who had been consul the year before, and was then a military tribune in Macedonia, under Aulus Hostilius. His brother made a speech to the senate, saying, that Caius Cassius had entirely wasted the country of the Alpine Gauls, their allies, and carried off into slavery many thousands of their people. Ambassadors came likewise from the Carnians, Istrians, and Iapidians, who represented, that "the consul Cassius, at first, after obliging them to furnish him with guides to conduct his army, which he was leading into Macedonia, had gone away in a peaceable manner, as if to carry war elsewhere; but that, when he had proceeded half way, he returned, and overran their country, committing every act of hostility, and spreading depredations and fires through every quarter; nor had they been yet able to discover for what reason the consul treated them as enemies." The absent prince of the Gauls, and the states present, were answered, that "the senate had no previous knowledge of those acts of which they complained; nor did they approve of them. But that it would still be unjust to condemn, unheard and absent, a man of consular rank, especially as he was em-

ployed abroad in the business of the public. That, when Caius Cassius should come home from Macedonia, if they chose then to prosecute their complaints against him, face to face, the senate, after examining the matter, would endeavour to give them satisfaction." It was farther resolved, that ambassadors should be sent to those nations, (two to the transalpine chieftain, and three to the other states,) to notify to them the determinations of the senate. They voted, that presents, to the amount of two thousand *asses*,* should be sent to the ambassadors; and to the prince, and his brother, some of extraordinary value: two chains, containing five pounds weight of gold; five silver vases, amounting to twenty pounds; two horses, fully caparisoned, with grooms to attend them, and horsemen's armour and cloaks, besides suits of apparel to their attendants, both freemen and slaves. These were presented to them; and, on their request, they were indulged with the liberty of purchasing ten horses each, and carrying them out of Italy. Caius Lælius and Marcus Æmilius were sent ambassadors with the Gauls, to the northern side of the Alps; and Caius Sicinius, Publius Cornelius Blasio, and Titus Memmius, to the other states.

VI. Embassies from many states of Greece and Asia arrived at Rome at the same time. The first that had audience of the senate were the Athenians, who represented, that "they had sent what ships and soldiers they had to the consul Publius Licinius, and the prætor Caius Lucretius, who did not think proper to employ their forces, but ordered the state to furnish one hundred thousand measures of corn; and, notwithstanding the sterility of the soil, and that they fed even the husbandmen with imported grain, yet, that they might not appear deficient in their duty, they had made up that quantity, and were ready to perform any other service

* 6l. 9s. 2d.

that might be required of them." The Milesians pretended not to any past service, but promised readily to afford any assistance in the war which the senate should think proper to demand. The Alabandians said, that they had erected a temple to the city of Rome, and instituted anniversary games to her divinity; that they had brought a golden crown, of fifty pounds weight, to be deposited in the Capitol, as an offering to Jupiter supremely good and great; also three hundred horsemen's bucklers, which they were ready to deliver to any person appointed to receive them; and they requested permission to lodge the said offering as intended, and to perform sacrifice. The same request was made by ambassadors from Lampsacus, who brought a crown, of eighty pounds weight, and represented to the senate, that "they had renounced the party of Perseus as soon as the Roman army appeared in Macedonia, though they had been under the dominion of that monarch, and formerly of Philip. In return for which, and for their having contributed every assistance in their power to the Roman commanders, they only requested to be admitted into the friendship of the Roman people; and that, if peace should be made with Perseus, there might be a special clause in their favour, to prevent their falling again into his power." The rest of the ambassadors received gracious answers, and the prætor, Quintus Mænius, was ordered to enrol the people of Lampsacus as allies. Presents were made to all, two thousand *asses* to each. The Alabandians were desired to carry back the bucklers into Macedonia, to the consul Aulus Hostilius. At the same time came ambassadors from Africa; those of the Carthaginians acquainted the senate, that they had brought down to the sea coast a million of measures of wheat, and five hundred thousand of barley, "to be transported to whatever place the senate should order. They were sensible," they said, "that this offer, and act of duty, were very inferior to the deserts of the

Roman people, and to their own inclinations; but that, on many other occasions, when the affairs of both nations flourished, they had performed the duties of faithful and grateful allies." In like manner, ambassadors from Masinissa offered the same quantity of wheat, one thousand two hundred horsemen, and twelve elephants; desiring, that if he could be of service in any other particular, the senate would lay their commands on him, which he would execute with as much zeal as what he had proposed himself. Thanks were returned both to the Carthaginians and to the King; and they were requested to send the supplies, which they promised, into Macedonia, to the consul Hostilius. A present of two thousand *asses* was made to each of the ambassadors.

VII. Ambassadors of the Cretans mentioned, that they had sent into Macedonia the archers demanded by the consul Publius Licinius; but, being interrogated they did not deny, that a greater number of these were in the army of Perseus than in that of the Romans: on which they received this answer; that "if the Cretans were candidly and sincerely resolved to prefer the friendship of the Roman people to that of King Perseus, the Roman senate, on their part, would answer them as allies who could be relied on." In the mean time, they were desired to tell their countrymen, that "the senate required that the Cretans should endeavour to call home, as soon as possible, all the soldiers who were in the service of King Perseus." The Cretans being dismissed, the ambassadors from Chalcis were called, the chief of whom, by name Miction, having lost the use of his limbs, was carried on a litter: which demonstrated that their business was a matter of extreme necessity; since, either a man, in that infirm state, had not thought proper to plead ill health in excuse from being employed, or the plea had not been admitted. After premising, that no other part was alive but his tongue, which served him to deplore the calamities of his country, he

represented, first, the friendly assistance given by his state to the Roman commanders and armies, both on former occasions, and in the war with Perseus; and then, the instances of pride, avarice, and cruelty, which his countrymen had suffered from the Roman prætor, Caius Lucretius, and were, at that very time, suffering from Lucius Hortensius; notwithstanding which, they were resolved to endure all hardships, should they be even more grievous than they underwent at present, rather than give themselves up to the power of Macedon. "With regard to Lucretius and Hortensius, they knew that it had been safer to have shut their gates against them, than to receive them into the city. For those cities, which had so done, remained in safety, as Emathea, Amphipolis, Maronea, and Ænus; whereas, in Chalcis, the temples were robbed of all their ornaments. Caius Lucretius had carried off in ships, to Antium, the plunder amassed by such sacrilege, and dragged persons of free condition into slavery; the property of the allies of the Roman people was subjected to rapine, and suffered daily depredations. For, pursuing the practice of Cajus Lucretius, Hortensius kept the crews of his ships in lodgings both in summer and winter alike; so that their houses were filled with a crowd of seamen, and those men, who showed no regard to propriety, either in their words or actions, lived among the inhabitants, their wives, and children."

VIII. The senate resolved to call Lucretius before them, that he might argue the matter in person, and exculpate himself. But when he appeared, he heard many more crimes alleged against him than had been mentioned in his absence; and two more weighty and powerful accusers stood forth in support of the charges, Marcus Juventius Thalna and Cneius Aufidius, plebeian tribunes. These not only arraigned him bitterly in the senate, but dragged him out into the assembly of the people; and there, reproaching him with many heinous

crimes, they instituted a legal prosecution against him. By order of the senate, the prætor, Quintus Mænius, gave this answer to the ambassadors of Chalcis: that "the senate acknowledged their account of the good offices done by them to the Roman people, both on former occasions and during the present war, to be true; and that they retained a proper sense of their friendly conduct: that, as to the ill treatment, which they complained of having received formerly from Caius Lucretius, and now from Lucius Hortensius, Roman prætors, it could not possibly be supposed that such things were done with the approbation of the senate. It should be considered that the Roman people had made war on Perseus, and, before that, on his father Philip, for the express purpose of asserting the liberties of Greece, and not of subjecting friends and allies to such treatment from their magistrates: that they would give them a letter to the prætor Lucius Hortensius, informing him, that the proceedings, of which the people of Chalcis complained, were highly displeasing to the senate; charging him to take care that all free persons, who had been reduced to slavery, should be sought out as soon as possible, and restored to liberty; and commanding that no seamen, except the masters of vessels, should be permitted to lodge on shore." Pursuant to the senate's order, a letter, to this purport, was written to Hortensius. A present of two thousand *asses* was made to each of the ambassadors, and carriages were hired for Miction, at the public expence, to carry him commodiously to Brundusium. When the day of Caius Lucretius's trial came, the tribunes pleaded against him before the people, and demanded that he should be fined in the sum of one million of *asses*;* and the tribes proceeding to vote, every one of the thirty-five pronounced him guilty, and confirmed the fine.

* 3,029l. 1s. 4d.

IX. In Liguria, nothing of moment occurred in that year; for the enemy made no hostile attempt, nor did the consul march his legions into their country; on the contrary, seeing a certain prospect of peace, he discharged the soldiers of the two Roman legions within sixty days after his arrival in the province, sent the troops of the Latine confederates early into winter-quarters at Luna and Pisæ, and himself, with the cavalry, visited most of the towns in the Gallic province. Although there was no open war any where but in Macedonia, yet there was reason to suspect the designs of Gentius, King of Illyria. The senate, therefore, voted that eight ships, fully equipped, should be sent from Brundusium to Issa, to Caius Furius, lieutenant-general, who, with only two vessels belonging to the inhabitants, held the government of that island. In this squadron were embarked four thousand soldiers, whom the prætor, Quintus Mænius, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, had raised in the quarter of Italy opposite Illyria; and the consul Hostilius sent Appius Claudius, with four thousand foot, into Illyria, to protect the neighbouring states. But Appius Claudius, not content with the force which he brought with him, collected aid from the allies, until he made up the number of eight thousand men; and, after overrunning all that country, took post at Lychnidus in the territory of the Dassaretians.

X. Not far from hence was Uscana, a town generally deemed part of the dominions of Perseus. It contained ten thousand inhabitants, and a small party of Cretans, who served as a garrison. From this place messengers came, secretly, to Claudius, telling him, that "if he brought his army nearer, there would be people ready to put the town into his hands; and that it would be well worth his while; for he would find booty sufficient to satisfy the utmost wishes, not only of his friends, but of his soldiers." Such alluring hopes blinded his understanding to that degree, that he neither detained

any of those who came, nor required hostages for his security, in a business which was to be transacted clandestinely and treacherously; neither did he send scouts to examine matters, nor require an oath from the messengers; but, on the day appointed, he left Lychnidus, and pitched his camp twelve miles from the city, which was the object of his design. At the fourth watch, he set out, leaving about one thousand men to guard the camp. His forces, extending themselves in a long irregular train, and in loose disorder, were separated, by mistaking their way in the night, and arrived in this state at the city. Their carelessness increased when they saw not a soldier on the walls. But, as soon as they approached within a weapon's cast, a sally was made from two gates at once. Besides the shout raised by these, a tremendous noise was heard on the walls, composed of the yells of women and the sound of brazen instruments, while the rabble of the place, mixed with a multitude of slaves, made the air resound with various cries. Struck by such a number of terrifying circumstances, the Romans were unable to support the first onset; so that a greater number of them were killed flying than fighting, and scarcely two thousand, with the lieutenant-general himself, effected their escape. The distance from the camp being great, numbers sunk under fatigue, and were overtaken by the enemy. Appius, without even halting in the camp to collect his stragglers, which would have been the means of saving many, led back, directly, to Lychnidus, the remains of his unfortunate army.

XI. These, and other unfavourable occurrences in Macedonia were learned from Sextus Digitius, a military tribune, who came to Rome to perform a sacrifice. These advices having rendered the senate apprehensive of some greater disgrace ensuing, they deputed Marcus Fulvius Flaccus and Marcus Caninius Rebilus to go to Macedonia, and bring

certain information of all transactions there; at the same time ordering that the consul Aulus Hostilius should summon the assembly for the election of consuls, so as that it might be held in the month of January, and should come home to the city as soon as possible. In the meantime it was resolved, that the prætor Marcus Recius should call home to Rome, by proclamation, all the senators, from every part of Italy, except such as were absent on public business; and that such as were in Rome should not go farther than one mile from the city. All this was done pursuant to the votes of the senate. The election of consuls was held on the fourth day before the calends of February. The persons chosen were, Quintus Marcius Philippus, a second time, and Cneius Servilius Cæpio. Three days after, were appointed prætors, Caius Decimius, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, Caius Sulpicius Gallus, Caius Marcius Figulus, Servius Cornelius Lentulus, and Publius Fonteius Capito. To the prætors elect were assigned, besides the two city provinces, these four: Spain, Sardinia, Sicily, and the fleet. Towards the end of Februrary the deputies returned from Macedonia, and gave an account of the successful enterprises of Perseus during the preceding summer, and of the great fears which had taken possession of the allies of the Roman people, on account of so many cities being reduced under the King's power. They reported, that "the consul's troops were very thin, in consequence of leave of absence being granted to great numbers, with the view of gaining the good will of the men; the blame of which the consul laid upon the military tribunes, and they, on the other hand, on the consul. The disgrace sustained through the rashness of Claudius," they represented as "not so considerable as was supposed; because, of the men who were lost very few were natives of Italy, the greatest part being the soldiers raised in that country by an irregular levy." The consuls elect received orders, imme-

diately on entering into office, to propose the affairs of Macedonia to the consideration of the senate; and Italy and Macedonia were appointed their provinces. An intercalation was made in the calendar of this year, intercalary calends being reckoned on the third day after the feast of Terminus. There died of the priests during this year, Lucius Flaminius, *augur*, and two pontiffs, Lucius Furius Philus, and Caius Livius Salinator. In the room of Furius, the pontiffs chose Titus Manlius Torquatus, and in that of Livius, Marcus Servilius.

XII. In the beginning of the ensuing year, the new consuls, Quintus Marcius and Cnelus Servilius, having proposed the distribution of the provinces for consideration, the senate voted that they should, Y.R.583. B.C.169. without delay, either settle between themselves about Macedonia and Italy, or cast lots for them; and that, before the lot should decide this matter, and while the destination of each was uncertain, lest interest might have any influence, the supplies of men, requisite for each province, should be ordered. For Macedonia were voted six thousand Roman foot and six thousand of the Latine allies, two hundred and fifty Roman horse, and three hundred of the allies. The old soldiers were to be discharged, so that there should be in each Roman legion no more than six thousand foot and three hundred horse. The number of Roman citizens, which the other consul was to enlist for a reinforcement, was not precisely determined; there was only this limitation mentioned, that he should raise two legions, each of them to contain five thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse. Of Latine infantry, a larger number was decreed to him than to his colleague; no less than ten thousand foot, with six hundred horse. An order was given for raising four other legions, to serve wherever occasion might require. The consuls were not allowed the appointment of the military tribunes; they were created by the votes of the people. The Latine con-

federates were ordered to furnish sixteen thousand foot and one thousand horse. This force was intended only to be kept in readiness, to march out should any exigency demand it. Macedonia engrossed the greatest share of the senate's attention; they ordered, that one thousand Roman citizens, of the rank of freedmen, should be enlisted in Italy, as seamen, to man the fleet, and the same number in Sicily; and that the prætor, to whose lot the government of the latter province fell, should take care to carry these over to Macedonia, to whatever place the fleet should be stationed at. To recruit the army in Spain, three thousand Roman foot and three hundred horse were voted. With regard to that army, too, the number of men in each legion was limited to five thousand foot and three hundred and thirty horse. Besides these, the prætor, to whose lot Spain should fall, was ordered to levy from the allies four thousand foot and three hundred horse.

XIII. I am well aware, that, through the same disregard to religion, which has led men into the present prevailing opinion, of the gods never giving portents of any future events, no prodigies are now either reported to government, or recorded in histories. But for my part, while I am writing the transactions of ancient times, my sentiments, I know not how, become antique; and I feel a kind of religious awe, which compels me to consider that events, which the men of those days, renowned for wisdom, judged deserving of the attention of the state and of public expiation, must certainly be worthy of a place in my history. From Anagnia two prodigies were reported this year: that a blazing torch was seen in the air; and that a cow spoke, and was maintained at the public expence. About the same time, at Minturnæ, the sky appeared as in a blaze of fire. At Reate, a shower of stones fell. At Cumæ, the image of Apollo, in the citadel, shed tears during three days and three nights. In the city of Rome,

the keeper of a temple asserted, that in that of Fortune, a snake, with a mane like that of a horse, had been seen by many; and another, that, in the temple of Fortuna Primigenia, on the hill, a palm sprung up in the court, and that a shower of blood fell in the middle of the day. There were two others not attended to: one, because it happened in a place belonging to a private person; Titus Marcius Figulus having reported, that a palm sprung up in the inner court of his house: the other, because it occurred in a foreign place, Fregellæ,—where, in the house of Lucius Atreus, a spear, which he had bought for his son, who was a soldier, burned, as was said, for more than two hours, yet no part of it was consumed. The decemvirs, having consulted the books, with regard to the public prodigies, directed, that the consuls should sacrifice forty of the larger victims to the deities, whom they pointed out; that a supplication should be performed; and that all the magistrates should sacrifice victims of the larger kinds, in all the temples, and the people wear garlands. All this was performed accordingly.

XIV. Then was held an assembly, for the creation of censors, which office was canvassed for by several of the first men in the state; Caius Valerius Lævinus, Lucius Postumius Albinus, Publius Mucius Scævola, Marcus Junius Brutus, Caius Claudius Pulcher, and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus. The two last were created censors by the Roman people in assembly. As, on account of the Macedonian war, the business of levying troops was deemed of more importance than usual, the consuls made a complaint to the senate against the plebeians, that even the younger men did not obey their summons. But, in opposition to them, Caius Sulpicius and Marcus Claudius, tribunes of the people, pleaded in favour of the plebeians; asserting, that "the levying of soldiers proved difficult, not to the consuls in general, but to such consuls as affected popularity; that these enlisted no

man against his inclination ; and that, to convince the Conscript Fathers of the truth of this, the prætors, who in their office had less power and authority, would, with their approbation, complete the levies." That business was accordingly committed to the care of the prætors by an unanimous vote of the senate, not without great murmuring on the part of the consuls. The censors, in order to forward it, published, in a general assembly, the following notice : that " they would make it a rule in conducting the survey, that, besides the common oath taken by all citizens, the younger part should swear, when challenged, in this manner,—You are younger than forty-six years, and you shall attend at the levy, pursuant to the edict of Caius Claudius and Tiberius Sempronius, censors ; and this, too, as often as there shall be a levy held by any magistrate during the aforesaid censors' continuance in office, if you shall not have been already enlisted." Also, as there was a report, that many men, belonging to the legions in Macedonia, were absent from the army, on leave granted by the commanders, without any time limited for their return ;—in order to ingratiate themselves with the soldiers, they issued a proclamation concerning all who had been drafted for that country in the consulate of Publius Ælius and Caius Popillius, or since that period ; that " such as were in Italy should, after being first registered by them in the survey, repair to Macedonia within thirty days ; and that, if any were under the power of a father or grand-father, the names of such should be notified to them. That they would also make inquiry into the cases of the soldiers who had been discharged ; and if any discharge should appear to have been obtained through favour, before the regular number of campaigns were served, they would order the persons so discharged to be enlisted again." In consequence of this proclamation, and letters from the censors being dispersed through the market-towns and villages, such multitudes of

young men flocked to Rome, that the extraordinary crowd was even inconvenient to the city. Beside the reinforcements for the armies, four legions were raised by the prætor Caius Sulpicius, and the levies were completed within eleven days.

XV. The consuls then cast lots for their provinces; the prætors, in order to provide for the civil jurisdiction, having determined theirs before. The civil jurisdiction had fallen to Caius Sulpicius; the foreign to Caius Decimius; Spain, to Marcus Claudius Marcellus; Sicily, to Servius Cornelius Lentulus; Sardinia, to Publius Fonteius Capito; and the fleet to Caius Marcius Figulus. Of the consuls, Servius obtained Italy for his province; Quintus Marcius, Macedonia; and, as soon as the Latine festival could be celebrated, the latter set out. Cæpio then desired the senate to direct which two of the new legions he should take with him into Gaul; when they ordered, that the prætors, Caius Sulpicius and Marcus Claudius, should give the consul such of the legions, which they had raised, as they should think fit. The latter, highly offended at a consul being subjected to the will of prætors, adjourned the senate; and, standing at the tribunal of the prætors, demanded, that, pursuant to the decree, they should assign him two legions: but the prætors left the choice of them to the consul. The censors then called over the list of the senate. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus was, now, by the third censors, chosen prince of the senate. Seven were expelled that body. In making the survey of the people, they discovered how many of the soldiers belonging to the army in Macedonia were absent, and obliged them all to return to that province. They inquired into the cases of the men who had been discharged; and, when any of their discharges appeared irregular in respect of time, they put an oath to them to this effect: "Do you sincerely swear, that you will, without deceit or evasion, return into the province of Macedonia,

according to the edict of the censors Caius Claudius and Tiberius Sempronius?"

XVI. In the review of the knights they acted with much harshness and severity, depriving many of their horses; and, after giving this offence to the equestrian order, they inflamed the general displeasure to a higher degree by an edict, which ordered, that "no person who had farms of the public revenues or taxes from the censors Quintus Fulvius and Aulus Postumius, should again propose for them, nor should have any partnership or connexion in the farms then to be made." Although the former farmers made many complaints to the senate, yet they could not prevail on that body to interfere, and check the power of the censors; but at last, they found a patron of their cause in Publius Rutilius, a plebeian tribune, who was incensed against the censors in consequence of a dispute about a private concern. They ordered a client of his, a freed man, to throw down a wall, which stood opposite to a public building in the sacred street, as being built on ground belonging to the public. The citizen appealed to the tribunes; but none of them would interfere except Rutilius; when the censors sent to seize his goods, and imposed a fine on him in a public assembly. When the present dispute broke out, and the old revenue farmers had recourse to the tribunes, a publication suddenly appeared, in the name of one tribune, of a proposed order of the people, that "all leases made of the public revenues and taxes by Caius Claudius and Tiberius Sempronius should be void: that they should all be let anew, and that every person, without distinction, should be at liberty to bid for and take them." The tribune appointed the day for an assembly to consider this matter. When the day came, and the censors stood forth to argue against the order, Gracchus was heard with silent attention; but when Claudius began to speak, his voice was drowned in noise; on which he directed the crier to cause

silence, that he might be heard. This was done; and the tribune, then, complaining that the assembly which he had summoned was taken out of his rule, and that he was stripped of the privilege of his office, retired from the Capitol, where the assembly met. Next day he raised a violent commotion.. In the first place, he declared the property of Tiberius Gracchus forfeited to the gods, for having fined and seized the goods of a person who had appealed to a tribune; and for refusing to admit his right of protest. He instituted a criminal process against Caius Claudius for the same, declaring his intention to prosecute both the censors for treason; and he demanded of Caius Sulpicius, the city prætor, that he would fix a day for an assembly to try them. The censors declared, that they had no objection to the people passing their judgment on them as soon as they pleased; and the days for trial of the treason were fixed for the eighth and seventh before the calends of October. The censors went up immediately to the temple of Liberty, where they sealed the books of the public accounts, shut up the office, and dismissed the clerks; affirming, that they would do no kind of public business, until the judgment of the people was passed on them. Claudius was first brought to trial; and, after eight out of the eighteen centuries of knights, and many others of the first class, had given sentence against him, the principal men in the state, immediately taking off their gold rings, in the sight of the people, put on mourning; and, in that suppliant manner, solicited the commons in his favour. Yet, it is said, that Gracchus was the chief means of making a change in their sentiments; for, on the commons crying out, on all sides, that Gracchus was in no danger, he took a formal oath, that, if his colleague were condemned, he would not wait for their sentence on himself, but would accompany him into exile. After all, the case of the accused was so near being desperate, that the votes of eight centuries more would have

condemned him. When Claudius was acquitted, the tribune said, that he had nothing to do with Gracchus.

XVII. This year, on the Aquileians petitioning, by their ambassadors, for an addition to the number of their settlers, the senate ordered one thousand five hundred families to be enrolled for the purpose; and Titus Annius Luscus, Publius Decius Subulo, and Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, were appointed commissioners to conduct them. During the same year, Caius Popilius and Cneius Octavius, who had been sent ambassadors into Greece, read, first at Thebes, and afterwards carried about to all the other states of Peloponnesus, a decree, ordering, that "no person should furnish the Roman magistrates with any thing for the use of the war, except what should be directed by a vote of the senate." This, besides present satisfaction, afforded the allies a pleasing confidence, with regard to the future, of being relieved from the heavy burdens and expences, in consequence of the various demands of those magistrates. In the council of Achaia, held at Argos, the ambassadors spoke, and were heard with sentiments of mutual esteem and affection; and then, leaving that faithful nation in confident assurance of lasting prosperity, they crossed over to Ætolia. No civil war had yet broke out in that country; but mistrust and jealousy universally prevailed, and nothing was heard but reciprocal accusations and recriminations. To put a stop to these, the ambassadors demanded hostages, and, without waiting to cure the evil effectually, passed on to Acarnania. The Acarnanians held a council at Thyrium to give them audience. Here, too, there was a struggle between opposite factions; some of the nobles requiring that garrisons might be placed in their cities, to protect them against the madness of those who laboured to engage the nation in favour of the Macedonians; and others, objecting to the measure, as throwing such an affront on peaceful and allied cities, as was practised only on

towns taken in war, or engaged in hostilities. Their objection was reckoned reasonable. From thence the ambassadors returned to Larissa, to Hostilius, for by him they had been sent. He kept Octavius with him, and sent Popillius, with about a thousand soldiers, into winter quarters in Ambracia.

XVIII. Perseus ventured not to go out of Macedonia, lest the Romans might make an irruption into the kingdom by some unguarded quarter; but, on the approach of the winter solstice, when the depth of the snow renders the mountains between that and Thessaly impassable, he thought the season favourable for crushing the hopes and spirits of his neighbours, so as to relieve himself from all apprehension of danger from them, while he was employed elsewhere. As Cotys and Cephalus, by their sudden defection from the Romans, afforded him security on that part of the kingdom which lay next to Thrace and Epirus, and as he had lately subdued the Dardanians by arms, he considered that Macedonia was only exposed on the side next to Illyria, the Illyrians themselves being in motion, and having offered a free passage to the Romans. He hoped, however, that in case of reducing the nearest part of Illyria, Gentius himself, who had long been wavering, might be brought into alliance with him. Setting out, therefore, at the head of ten thousand foot, the greater part of whom were soldiers of the phalanx, two thousand light infantry, and five hundred horse, he proceeded to Stubera. Having there supplied himself with corn, sufficient for many days, and ordered every requisite for besieging towns to be sent after him, he continued his march, and on the third day encamped before Uscana, the largest city in the Penestian country. Before he employed force, he sent emissaries to sound the dispositions, sometimes of the commanders, sometimes of the inhabitants; for, besides some troops of Illyrians, there was a Roman garrison in the place. Perceiving no pros-

pect of succeeding by negociation, he resolved to attack the town, and made an attempt to take it by storm; but though his men, relieving one another, continued without intermission, either by day or night, some to apply ladders to the walls, others to attempt setting fire to the gates, yet the besieged withstood all the fury of the assault; for they had hopes that the Macedonians would not be able to endure long the violence of the winter in the open field; and besides, that the Roman army would not give the King so long a respite as should allow him to stay there. But, when they saw the machines in motion, and towers erected, their resolution failed; for, besides that they were unequal to a contest with his force, they had not a sufficient store of corn, or any other necessary, as they had not expected a siege. Wherefore, despairing of being able to hold out, the Roman garrison sent Caius Carvilius Spoletinus and Caius Afranius to desire Perseus, first, to allow the troops to march out with their arms, and to carry their effects with them; and then, if they could not obtain that, to receive his promise of their lives and liberty. The King promised more generously than he performed; for, after desiring them to march out with their effects, the first thing he did was to take away their arms. As soon as they left the city, both the cohort of Illyrians, five hundred in number, and the inhabitants of Uscana, immediately surrendered themselves and the city.

XIX. Perseus, placing a garrison in Uscana, carried away to Stubera the whole multitude of prisoners, almost equal to his army in number. He then distributed the Romans, who amounted to four thousand, besides officers, among several cities, to be kept in custody; and, having sold the Uscanians and Illyrians, led back his army to Panestia, with design to reduce the city of Oæneus; which, besides other advantages of its situation, affords a passage into the country of the Labeatians, where Gentius was King. As he passed by a fort,

named Draudacum, which was full of men, a person, well acquainted with the country, told him, that "there was no use in taking Oæneus unless he had Draudacum in his power; for the latter was situated more advantageously in every respect." His army no sooner appeared before it, than all the inhabitants agreed to capitulate immediately. Encouraged by the early surrender of this place, and perceiving what terrors his march diffused, by taking advantage of the like fears, he reduced eleven other forts to submission. Against a very few he had occasion to use force; the rest submitted voluntarily; among whom were one thousand five hundred soldiers, who had been stationed there in garrison. Carvilius Spoletinus was very serviceable to him in his conferences with the garrison, by declaring that no severity had been shown to him and his party. At length he arrived at Oæneus, which could not be taken without a regular siege, having a much greater number of men than the others, with strong fortifications. It was inclosed on one side by a river called Artatus, and on another by a very high mountain of difficult access; circumstances, which gave the inhabitants courage to make resistance. Perseus, having drawn lines of circumvallation, began, on the higher ground, to raise a mound, which he intended should exceed the wall in height. By the time that this work was completed, the besieged, in their many actions, when sallying out to defend their works, or to obstruct those of the enemy, had lost great numbers by various chances; while the survivors were rendered useless by wounds, and by continual labour both in the day and night. As soon as the mound was brought close to the wall, the royal cohort (the men of which are called Nicators) rushed from it into the town, while an assault was made by scalade in many places at once. All the males, who had reached the age of puberty, were put to the sword, their wives and children were thrown into confinement, and every thing else was

given as booty to the soldiers. Returning thence victorious to Stubera, he sent, as ambassadors to Gentius,—Pleuratus, an Illyrian, who lived in exile at his court, and Aputeus, a Macedonian, from Berœa. Their instructions were, to represent his exploits against the Romans and Dardanians during the preceding summer and winter, and to add the recent operations of his winter campaign in Illyria, and to exhort Gentius to unite with him and the Macedonians in a treaty of friendship.

XX. They crossed over the top of Mount Scordus, and through desert tracts of Illyria, which the Macedonians had laid waste, for the purpose of preventing the Dardanians from passing easily into Illyria or Macedonia; and, at length, after undergoing prodigious fatigue, arrived at Scodra. King Gentius was at Lissus, to which place he invited the ambassadors, and lent a favourable ear to their representations, but gave them an indecisive answer: that "he wanted not inclination to go to war with the Romans, but was in extreme want of money to enable him to enter on such an undertaking." This answer they brought to the King, while he was busy at Stubera in selling the prisoners from Illyria. He immediately sent back the same ambassadors, to whom he added Glaucias, one of his body guards, but without any mention of money; the only thing that could induce the needy barbarian to take a part in the war. Then Perseus, after ravaging Ancyra, led back his army, once more, into Penestia; and, having strengthened the garrisons of Uscana, and the other fortresses which he had taken in that quarter, he retired into Macedonia.

XXI. Lucius Cælius, a Roman lieutenant-general, commanded, at that time, in Illyria. While the King was in that country, he did not venture to stir; but, on his departure, he made an attempt to recover Uscana, in Penestia; in which, being repulsed, with great loss, by the Macedonian garrison,

he led back his forces to Lychnidus. In a short time after he sent Marcus Trebellius Fregellanus, with a very strong force, into Penestia, to receive hostages from the cities which had faithfully remained in friendship. He ordered him, also, to march on to the Parthinians, who had likewise covenanted to give hostages, and he received them from both nations without any trouble: those of the Penestians were sent to Apollonia; those of the Parthinians to Dyrrachium, then more generally called by the Greeks Epidamnus. Appius Claudius wishing to repair the disgrace which he had suffered in Illyria, made an attack on Phanote, a fortress of Epirus; bringing with him, besides the Roman troops, Athamanian and Thesprotian auxiliaries, to the amount of six thousand men: but he gained no advantage; for Clevas, who had been left there with a strong garrison, effectually defended the place. Perseus marched to Elimea, and, after purifying his army, led it to Stratus, in compliance with an invitation of the Ætolians. Stratus was then the strongest city in Ætolia. It stands on the Ambracian gulph, near the river Achelous. Thither he marched with ten thousand foot and three hundred horse; for he did not choose to bring a larger party of the latter, on account of the narrowness and ruggedness of the roads. On the third day he came to Mount Citium, which he could scarcely climb over, by reason of the depth of the snow; and, afterwards, with difficulty found even a place for his camp. Leaving that spot, rather because he could not conveniently stay, than that either the road, or the weather, was tolerable, the army, after suffering severe hardships, which fell heaviest on the beasts of burden, encamped on the second day at the temple of Jupiter, called Nicæus. After a very long march thence, he arrived at the river Aracthus, where the depth of the water obliged him to halt until a bridge could be made. As soon as this was finished, he led over his army; and, having proceeded one

day's march, met Archidamus, an Ætolian of distinction, who proposed delivering Stratus into his hands.

XXII. On that day Perseus encamped at the bounds of the Ætolian territory; and, on the next, arrived before Stratus, where, pitching his camp near the river Achelous, he expected that the Ætolians would come in crowds, to put themselves under his protection; but, on the contrary, he found the gates shut, and discovered that, the very night before he arrived, a Roman garrison, under Caius Popillius, lieutenant-general, had been received into the town. The nobles, who, while Archidamus was present, had, out of deference to his authority, submitted to invite the King, as soon as he went out for that purpose, had become less zealous, and had given an opportunity to the opposite faction to call in Popillius, with one thousand foot, from Ambracia. At the same juncture came also Dinarchus, general of the Ætolian cavalry, with six hundred foot and one hundred horse. It was well known that he came to Stratus intending to act with Perseus; but that, with the change of fortune, he had changed his mind, and joined the Romans. Nor was Popillius less on his guard than was requisite among people of such fickle tempers. He immediately took into his own keeping the keys of the gates, with the direction of the guard of the walls, removing Dinarchus and the Ætolians, together with the young men of Stratus, into the citadel, under pretence of garrisoning it. Perseus sounded the garrison, by addressing them from the eminences that hung over the upper part of the city, and finding that they were obstinate, and even kept him at a distance with weapons, removed his camp to the other side of the river Petitarus, about five miles from the town: there he held a council, wherein Archidamus and the refugees from Epirus advised, that he should remain there; but the Macedonian nobles argued, that it would be wrong to fight against the severity of the season without

having magazines of provisions; in which case the besiegers would feel a scarcity sooner than the besieged; especially, as the winter-quarters of the enemy were at no great distance: which considerations so much discouraged him, that he marched away into Aperantia. The Aperantians, in consequence of the great interest and influence which Archidamus possessed among them, submitted to Perseus, with universal consent; and Archidamus himself was appointed their governor, with a body of eight hundred soldiers.

XXIII. The King then marched into Macedonia, his men and horses suffering, on the way, hardships no less severe than they had encountered on leaving home. However, the report of Perseus's march to Stratus obliged Appius to raise the siege of Phanote. Clevas, with a body of active young men, pursued him to the foot of a mountain, in a defile almost impassable, killed one thousand men of his disordered troops, and took two hundred prisoners. Appius, when he got clear of the defile, encamped in a plain named Eleon, where he remained for some days. Meanwhile Clevas, being joined by Philostratus, governor of Epirus, proceeded over the mountains into the lands of Antigonea. The Macedonians setting out to plunder, Philostratus, with his party, posted himself in ambush. The troops at Antigonea hastened out against the straggling plunderers, but, on their flying, pursued them with too great eagerness, until they precipitated themselves into the valley which was beset by the enemy, who killed one thousand, and made about one hundred prisoners. Being thus successful every where, they encamped near the post of Appius, in order to prevent the Roman army from offering violence to any of their allies. Appius, finding that he wasted time there to no purpose, dismissed the Chaonian and other Epirotes, and with his Italian soldiers marched back to Illyria; then, sending the troops to their several winter-quarters, in the confederate cities of the

Parthinians, he went home to Rome to perform a sacrifice. Perseus recalled from Penestia one thousand foot and two hundred horse, whom he sent to garrison Cassandria. His ambassadors returned from Gentius with the same answer as before. Still he did not give up his design, but sent embassy after embassy, to solicit him; yet, notwithstanding that he was sensible of the powerful support he would find in Gentius, the Macedonian could not prevail on himself to expend money on the business. * * * * * *

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THE

HISTORY OF ROME.

BOOK XLIV.

Quintus Marcius Philippus, consul, with much difficulty, penetrates into Macedonia, and takes several cities. The Rhodians send an embassy to Rome, threatening to aid Perseus, unless the Romans made peace with him. Lucius Æmilius Paullus, consul, sent against Perseus, defeats him, and reduces all Macedonia to subjection. Before the engagement, Caius Sulpitius Gallus, a military tribune, foretells an eclipse of the moon, and warns the soldiers not to be alarmed at that phenomenon Gentius, King of Illyria, vanquished by Anicius, prætor, and sent prisoner, together with his wife and children, to Rome. Ambassadors from Ptolemy and Cleopatra, King and Queen of Egypt, complain of Antiochus making war upon them. Perseus, not paying Eumenes, King of Pergamus, and Gentius, King of Illyria, the money he had promised them for their assistance, is deserted by them.

I. EARLY in the following spring, the consul Quintus Marcius Philippus set out from Rome, with five thousand men, whom he was to carry over to reinforce his legions, and arrived at Brundusium. Y.R.583. B.C.169. Marcus Popillius, of consular rank, and other young men of equal dignity, accompanied him, in quality of military tribunes, for the legions in Macedonia. Nearly at the same

time, Caius Marcius Figulus, the prætor, whose province was the fleet, came to Brundusium; and, both sailing from Italy, made Corcyra on the second day, and Actium, a port of Acarnania, on the third. The consul, then, disembarking at Ambracia, proceeded towards Thessaly by land. The prætor, doubling Cape Leucate, sailed into the gulph of Corinth; then, leaving his ships at Creusa, he went by land also through the middle of Bæotia, and, by a quick journey of one day, came to the fleet at Chalcis. Aulus Hostilius at that time lay encamped in Thessaly, near Palæpharsalus; and though he had performed no warlike act of any consequence; yet he had reformed his troops from a state of dissolute licentiousness, and brought them to exact military discipline; had faithfully consulted the interest of the allies, and defended them from every kind of injury. On hearing of his successor's approach, he carefully inspected the arms, men, and horses; and then, with the army in complete order, he marched out to greet the consul. The meeting was such as became their own dignity and the Roman character; and, in transacting business afterwards, *they preserved the greatest harmony and propriety.* The proconsul, addressing himself to the troops, *exhorted them to behave with courage, and with due respect to the orders of their commander. He then recommended them, in warm terms, to the consul, and, as soon as he had dispatched the necessary affairs, set off for Rome.* A few days after, the consul made a speech to his soldiers, which began with the unnatural murder which Perseus had perpetrated on his brother, and meditated against his father; he then mentioned "his acquisition of the kingdom by the most nefarious practices; his poisonings and murders; his abominable attempt to assassinate Eumenes; the injuries he had committed against the Roman people; and his plundering the cities of their allies, in violation of the treaty. How detestable such proceedings were in the sight of the gods,

Perseus would feel, he said, in the issue of his affairs; for the gods always favoured righteous and honourable dealings; by means of which the Roman state had risen to its present exaltation." He compared the strength of the Roman people, whose authority was now acknowledged throughout the whole world, with that of Macedonia; and the armies of the one with those of the other; and then he asked, "was not the power of Philip, and that of Antiochus, much superior?" and yet both of them had been conquered.

II. Having animated his soldiers by such exhortations, he began to consult on a general plan of operations for the campaign; being joined by the prætor Caius Marcius, who, after receiving the command of the fleet, came thither from Chalcis. It was resolved not to waste time, by delaying longer in Thessaly; but to decamp immediately, and advance into Macedonia; and that the prætor should exert himself to the utmost, that the fleet might appear, at the same time, on the enemy's coasts. The prætor then took his leave; and the consul ordering the soldiers to carry a month's provisions, struck his tents, on the tenth day after he received the command of the army, and, putting the troops in motion, marched until night. Before he proceeded, he called together his guides, and ordered them to explain, in the presence of the council, by what road each of them proposed to lead him; then, desiring them to withdraw, he asked the opinion of the council, as to what route he should prefer. Some advised the road through Pythium; others, that over the Cambunian mountains, where the consul Hostilius had marched the year before; while others, again, preferred that which passed by the side of the lake Ascuris. There was yet before him a considerable length of way, which led alike towards all of these; the farther consideration of this matter was therefore postponed until they should encamp near the place where the roads diverged. He then marched into Perrhæbia, and post-

ed himself between Azorus and Doliche, in order to consider again which was the preferable road. In the mean-time, Perseus, understanding that the enemy was marching towards him, but unable to guess what route he might take, resolved to secure all the passes. To the top of the Cambunian mountains, called by the natives Volustana, he sent ten thousand light infantry, under the command of Asclepiodotus; ordering Hippias, with a detachment of twelve thousand Macedonians, to guard the pass called Lapathus, near a fort which stood over the lake Ascuris. He himself, with the rest of his forces, lay for some time in camp at Dius; but afterwards, as if he had lost the use of his judgment, and was incapable of forming any plan, he used to gallop along the coast, with a party of light horse, sometimes to Heracleus, sometimes to Phila, and then return with the same speed to Dius.

III. By this time the consul had determined to march through the pass near Octolophus, where, as we have mentioned, the camp of Philip formerly stood. But he deemed it prudent to dispatch before him four thousand men, to secure such places as might be useful: the command of this party was given to Marcus Claudius, and Quintus Marcius, the consul's son. The main body followed close after, but the road was so steep, rough, and craggy, that the advanced party of light troops, with great difficulty, effected in two days a march of fifteen miles; they then encamped on a spot called the tower of Eudieru. Next day they advanced seven miles; and, having seized on a hill, at a small distance from the enemy's camp, sent back a message to the consul, that "they had arrived within sight of the enemy; and had taken post in a place which was safe and convenient in every respect; urging him to join them with all possible speed." This message came to the consul at the lake Ascuris, at a time when he was full of anxiety, on account of the badness of the road into which he had brought the army, and for the

fate of the small force he had sent forward among the posts of the enemy. His spirits were therefore greatly revived; and, soon effecting a junction of all his forces, he pitched his camp on the side of the hill that had been seized, where the ground was the most commodious. This hill was so high as to afford a wide-extended prospect, presenting to their eyes, at one view, not only the enemy's camp, which was little more than a mile distant, but the whole extent of territory to Dius and Phila, together with a large tract of the sea coast; circumstances which greatly enlivened the courage of the soldiers, giving them so near a view of the grand theatre of the war, of all the King's forces, and of the country of the enemy. So highly were they animated, that they pressed the consul to lead them on directly; but, after the fatigue that they had suffered on the road, one day was set apart for repose. On the third day, the consul, leaving one half of his troops to guard the camp, marched against the enemy.

IV. Hippias had been sent by the King, a short time before, to maintain that pass; and having employed himself, since he first saw the Roman camp on the hill, in preparing his men's minds for a battle, he now went forth to meet the consul's army as it advanced. The Romans came out to battle with light armour, as did the Macedonians; light troops being the fittest for the kind of fight in which they were about to engage. As soon as they met, therefore, they instantly discharged their javelins, and many wounds were given and received on both sides in a disorderly kind of conflict; but few of either party were killed. This only roused their courage for the following day, when they would have engaged with more numerous forces, and with greater animosity, had there been room to form a line; but the summit of the mountain was contracted into a ridge so narrow, as scarcely to allow space for three files in front; so that the greater part, especially such as carried heavy arms, stood mere spectators

of the fight. The light troops even ran through the hollows of the hill, and attacked the flanks of the enemy; never considering either the advantage or disadvantage of the ground, provided they could but come to action. That day, too, greater numbers were wounded than killed, and night put a stop to the dispute. The Roman general was greatly at a loss how to proceed on the third day; for to remain on that naked hill was impossible, and he could not return without disgrace, and even danger, if the Macedonian, with the advantage of the ground, should press on his troops in their retreat: he had, therefore, no other plan left than to persevere in his bold attempt, which sometimes, in the issue, proves the wisest course. He had, in fact, brought himself into such a situation, that if he had had to deal with an enemy, like the ancient kings of Macedon, he might have suffered a very severe defeat. But while the King, with his horsemen, ran up and down the shore at Dius; and, though almost within hearing of the shout and noise of twelve thousand of his forces, who were engaged, neither sent up fresh men to relieve the weary, nor, what was most material, appeared himself in the action; the Roman general, notwithstanding that he was above sixty years old, and unwieldy through corpulency, performed actively every duty of a commander. He persisted with extraordinary resolution in his bold undertaking; and, leaving Popillius to guard the summit, marched across, through places which would have been impassable, if he had not sent forward a party to open a road. Attalus and Misagenes, with the auxiliary troops of their own nations, were ordered to protect them, while clearing the way through the forests. He himself, keeping the cavalry and baggage before him, closed the rear with the legions.

V. In descending the mountain, the men suffered inexpressible fatigue, besides the frequent falling of the cattle and their loads, so that, before they had advanced quite four

miles, they began to think that their most eligible plan would be to return, if possible, by the way they came. The elephants caused almost as much confusion among the troops as an enemy could; for, when they came to impassable steeps, they threw off their riders, and set up such a hideous roar, as spread terror through all, especially among the horses, until a method was contrived for bringing them down. They fastened in the earth, some way from the top, two long strong posts, distant from each other a little more than the breadth of the animal, on which were fastened beams thirty feet long, which stretched across the precipice, by means of which they formed a kind of bridge, and covered it with earth; a little lower, another; then a third bridge, with several others one after another, where steeps were found. The elephant walked forward on solid footing; but, before he came to the end, the posts underneath were cut, and the bridge falling, obliged him to slide down gently to the beginning of the next bridge, which some of them performed standing, others on their haunches. When they arrived at the level of another bridge, they were again carried down, by its falling in like manner; and this operation was repeated until they came to more level ground. The Romans advanced that day scarcely more than seven miles; and even of this journey little was performed on foot. Their method of proceeding in general was rolling themselves down, together with their arms and baggage, by which they were severely hurt; insomuch, that even their commander, who led them such a march, did not deny, but that the whole army might have been cut off by a small party. During the night, they arrived at a small plain; but, as it was hemmed in on every side, they could not immediately discover whether it was a place of danger or not. However, as they had, beyond their expectation, at length found good footing, they judged it necessary to wait, during the next day, in that deep valley for Popillius, and the forces left be-

hind with him; who, though the enemy gave them no disturbance, suffered severely from the difficulties of the ground, —almost, indeed, as if they had been harassed by an enemy. These having joined the main body, the whole proceeded, on the third day, through a pass called by the natives Callipeuce. The road before them was not more easy than what they had passed; but experience had taught them to surmount the difficulties, while they were supported by more comfortable hopes, as they saw no enemy any where, and as they were coming nearer to the sea. On the fourth day, they marched down into the plains, where they pitched their camp of infantry between Heracleus and Libethrus, the greater part being posted on hills, the rest occupying a valley and part of the plain where the cavalry encamped.

VI. The King, it is said, was bathing, when he was informed of the enemy's approach; on hearing which, he started up from his seat, in a fright, crying out, that he was conquered without a battle; he then rushed out, and afterwards continued in a state of such perturbation, that he could neither give any orders, nor form any plan, but what his fears dictated, and even these he frequently altered. Of his two most intimate friends, he sent Nicias to Pella, where his treasure was lodged, with orders to throw all that he found there into the sea, and Andronicus to Thessalonica, to burn the dock-yards. At the same time he recalled Hippias and Asclepiodotus from the places which they had been appointed to guard, and opened every pass to the Romans. He went himself to Dius, where, collecting all the golden statues, that they might not fall a prey to the enemy, he put them on board the fleet, which he ordered to remove with all speed to Pydna. This behaviour of Perseus was the cause, that the conduct of the consul, in venturing into a situation out of which he could not retreat without the enemy's permission, although it might have been deemed rash and inconsiderate,

yet carried, in fact, the appearance of judicious boldness. For there were only two passes through which the Romans could remove from their present situation: one through Tempe into Thessaly, the other by Dius into Macedonia; and both these were occupied by parties of the King's troops. So that if an intrepid commander had, only for ten days, maintained his ground, without yielding to the first appearance of the Romans' approach, they could neither have retreated by Tempe, nor have had any road open for the conveyance of provisions from thence. For Tempe is a pass of such a nature, that, supposing no obstruction given by an enemy, it is difficult to get through it; being so narrow, for the length of five miles, that there is barely room for a loaded horse to pass: the precipices, also, on both sides are so abrupt, that is scarcely possible to look down from them, without a degree of dizziness of the eyes and head; while the horror of the scene is increased by the roaring and depth of the river Peneus flowing through the middle of the glen. This defile, in its nature so dangerous, had, for its security, four parties of the King's troops, stationed in different places: one near Gonnus, at the first entrance; another in an impregnable fortress at Condylos; a third near Lapathus, in a place called Charax: and the fourth on the road itself, about midway, where the valley is narrowest, and which might have been easily defended, even by half a score men. All possibility either of retreating, or of receiving provisions through Tempe, being cut off, the Romans, in order to return, must have crossed over the same mountains from which they came down; but, even though they might have been able to effect this by passing unobserved, they never could have accomplished it openly, and while the enemy kept possession of the heights; and, besides, the difficulties which they had already experienced would have precluded every hope of the kind. In this situation, to which want of caution had brought

them, they would have no other plan left than to force their way into Macedonia, through the midst of the enemy posted at Dius; and, if the gods had not deprived the King of his understanding, this would have been extremely difficult. For the space between the foot of Mount Olympus and the sea is not much more than a mile in breadth; one half of which is taken up by the mouth of the river Baphirus, which forms a large morass, and, of the remaining plain, a great share is occupied by the town and the temple of Jupiter; the rest, being a very small space, might have been shut up with a trench and rampart of no great length; or, so great was the plenty of stones and timber on the spot, that a wall might have been drawn across, and towers erected. But the King's judgment was so entirely blinded by the sudden fright, that he reflected not upon any one of these circumstances; on the contrary he evacuated all his strong posts, leaving them open to the enemy, and fled back to Pydna.

VII. The consul, perceiving that the enemy's total want of courage and conduct presented him a most favourable prospect, not only of safety, but of success, sent back a messenger to Larissa, with orders to Spurius Lucretius to seize on the deserted forts about Tempe; then, sending forward Popillius, to examine all the passes round Dius, and learning that all was clear, he marched in two days to that town, ordering the camp to be pitched under the walls of the temple, that no violation might be offered to that sacred place. He went himself into the city; and seeing it, though not large, yet highly ornamented with public buildings and abundance of statues, and remarkably well fortified, he could scarcely believe that a place of such importance had been abandoned, without a design to cover some stratagem. He waited, therefore, one day, to examine all the country round; then he decamped; and, supposing that he should find plenty of corn in his way, advanced to a river called the Mitys.

On the day following, continuing his march, he received the voluntary surrender of the city of Agassa; whereupon, in order to gain the good opinion of the rest of the Macedonians, he contented himself with receiving hostages, assuring the inhabitants, that he would leave them their city without a garrison, and that they should live free from taxes, and under their own laws. Proceeding thence one day's march, he encamped at the river Ascordus; but, finding that the farther he removed from Thessaly, the greater was the scarcity of every thing, he returned to Dius; which clearly demonstrated how much he must have suffered if he had been shut out from an intercourse with Thessaly, since he found it unsafe to go to any great distance from it. Perseus, having drawn all his forces into one body, and assembled all his generals, reprimanded severely the commanders of the garrisons, and particularly Hippias, and Asclepiodotus: asserting, that they had betrayed to the Romans the keys of Macedonia; although, in fact, no one deserved more justly to be blamed for it than himself. The consul, on seeing the fleet at sea, conceived hopes that they were coming with provisions, for every article had now become very dear and very scarce: but when the ships came into harbour, he was informed, that the transports had been left behind at Magnesia. He was then under great perplexity to determine what measures to take; so hard did he find it to struggle with the difficulties of his situation, though not aggravated by any effort of the enemy; when, very seasonably, a letter arrived from Lucretius, acquainting him that he was in possession of all the forts about Tempe and Phila, and had found in them great plenty of corn and other necessaries.

VIII. This news highly rejoiced the consul; and he immediately removed his quarters from Dius to Phila, in order to strengthen that post, and, at the same time, to distribute corn to the soldiers, on the spot, as the carriage of it thence

would be tedious. That march gave rise to opinions not at all favourable to his reputation: some said that he retired from the enemy through fear; because, if he had staid, he must have risked a battle: others, that, not considering the daily changes produced by fortune in the affairs of war, he had let slip out of his hands, advantages which threw themselves in his way, and which, in all probability, he could never regain. For, by giving up the possession of Dius, he at once roused the enemy to action; who at length saw the necessity of endeavouring to recover what he had lost before, through his own fault. On hearing of the consul's departure, therefore, Perseus marched back to Dius, repaired whatever had been destroyed by the Romans, rebuilt the battlements which they had thrown down, strengthened the fortifications all around, and then pitched his camp within five miles of the city, on the hither bank of Enipeus, making use of the river, the passage of which was extremely difficult, as a defence to his post. The Enipeus, which rises in a valley of Mount Olympus, is a small stream during the summer, but is raised by the winter rains to a violent torrent, when, as it runs over the rocks, it forms furious eddies, and, by sweeping away the earth at the bottom into the sea, makes very deep gulphs, while the sinking of the middle of the channel renders the banks both high and steep. By the help of this river, Perseus thought that he might impede the march of the enemy, and perhaps prevent his proceeding any farther during the remainder of the summer. In the mean time, the consul sent Popillius, with two thousand men, against Heracleus, about five miles from Phila, midway between Dius and Tempe, and which stands on a steep rock hanging over the river.

IX. Popillius, before he attacked the town, sent to recommend to the magistrates, rather to try the honour and clemency of the Romans than their power; but this advice was totally disregarded, the fires in the King's camp on the

Enipeus being now within their sight. The attack was then commenced by assaults, and with works and machines, as well on the side facing the sea (for the ships had been brought up close to the shore), as on land. A party of Roman youths actually gained possession of the lowest part of the wall, by turning to the purposes of war a kind of sport which they were accustomed to practise in the circus. In those times, when the present extravagant fashion of filling the area with beasts of every kind was yet unknown, it was customary to contrive various kinds of amusements; for when one chariot race and one set of tumblers were exhibited, both the performances scarcely filled up the space of an hour. Among other diversions, the directors of the games used to introduce about sixty young men in arms, sometimes more, whose performances were partly a representation of troops going through the military exercise, and partly a display of more accurate skill than appeared in the practice of soldiers, and which approached nearer to the mode of fighting used by gladiators. After performing various evolutions, they formed in a square body, with their shields raised over their heads, and closed together, the foremost standing upright, the next stooping a little, the third and fourth lines more and more, and so on, until the hindmost rested on their knees, thus composing a covering in the shape of a tortoise-shell, and sloping, like the roof a house. Then two armed men, who stood at the distance of about fifty feet, ran forward, and after some menacing flourishes of their arms, mounted over the closed shields, from the bottom to the top of this roof; and, treading as steadily as if on solid ground, sometimes paraded along the extreme edges of it, as if repelling an enemy, and sometimes engaged each other on the middle of it. On the present occasion they raised the like against a part of the wall, and the soldiers, standing thereon, mounted, until they were as high as the defendants on the battlements;

these they soon beat off, and the soldiers of two companies climbed over into the town. The only difference between this and the playful contrivance was, that here the outside men in the front and in the two flanks, did not raise their shields over their heads, lest they should expose their bodies, but held them before them, as in battle; so that the weapons thrown at them, from the walls, as they advanced, did them no injury, while those that were poured in showers on the roof slided down the smooth slope to the bottom, without doing any mischief. When Heracleus was taken, the consul removed his quarters thither, as if he intended to besiege Dius; and, after driving the King thence, to advance to Pieria. But seeing it time to prepare quarters for the winter, he ordered roads to be made for the conveyance of provisions from Thessaly, and proper places to be chosen for storehouses; also huts to be built, where the people employed in bringing the provisions might lodge.

X. Perseus, having at length recovered his spirits, after the panic with which he had been seized, began to wish that obedience had not been paid to the orders which he had given in his fright, to throw the treasures at Pella into the sea, and to burn the naval arsenals at Thessalonica. Andronicus, indeed, whom he had sent to Thessalonica, deferred the execution of his order, leaving him time for repentance, which accordingly took place; but Nicias, less provident, threw into the sea what treasure he found at Pella: his error, however, turned to be not without remedy, inasmuch as the greatest part of that treasure was brought up again by divers. Nevertheless, Perseus was so very much ashamed of his terror on the occasion, that he caused the divers to be privately put to death, together with Andronicus and Nicias, that there might be no living witness of such dastardly conduct. In the mean time, Caius Marcius, with the fleet, sailed from Heracleus to Thessalonica. Landing his men, he made wide de-

predations on the country; and, when the troops from the city came out against him, he defeated them in several actions, and drove them back in dismay within their walls. He even alarmed the city itself; but the townsmen, erecting engines of every kind, wounded, with stones thrown from them, not only such as straggled carelessly near the walls, but even those who were on board the ships. He therefore re-embarked his troops; and, giving up the design of besieging Thessalonica, proceeded thence to Ænia, fifteen miles distant, situated opposite to Pydna, in a fertile country. After ravaging the lands in that quarter, he coasted along the shore until he arrived at Antigonea. Here his troops landed, and for some time carried their depredations through all the country round, putting a great deal of booty on board the ships; but afterwards, a party of Macedonians, consisting of foot and horse intermixed, fell upon them as they straggled, put them to a precipitate flight, and, pursuing them to the shore, killed near five hundred, and took as many prisoners. Extreme necessity, on finding themselves hindered from regaining their vessels, roused the courage of the Roman soldiers, filling them with despair of any other means of safety than by resistance, and with indignation at their disgrace. They renewed the fight on the shore, assisted by the seamen; and here about two hundred Macedonians were killed, and a like number taken. From Antigonea the fleet sailed on to the district of Pallene, where a descent was made for the purpose of plundering. This district belonged to the territory of Cassandrea, and was by far the most plentiful of any at which they had yet touched on the coast. There they were met by King Eumenes, who came from Elea with twenty decked ships; and King Prusias also sent five of the like kind thither.

XI. Such a large accession of strength encouraged the prætor to lay siege to Cassandrea. This city was built by King Cassander, in the pass which connects the territory of

Pallene with the rest of Macedonia. It is washed on one side by the Toronæan, on another by the Macedonian sea; for it stands on a neck of land which stretches into the ocean, and rises in the part opposite Magnesia, to a height equal to that of Mount Athos, forming two unequal promontories, the larger called Posideum, the smaller Canastræum. The besiegers formed their attacks on two different sides: the Roman general, at a place called Clitæ, drew a trench from the Macedonian to the Toronæan sea, to which he added pointed palisades, to cut off the communication; while, on the other side, next to the Euripus, Eumenes carried on his attack. The Romans underwent a vast deal of labour in filling up a trench, which Perseus had dug in the way; and, on the prætor inquiring where the earth that had been taken out of it was thrown, as he saw no heaps of it any where, some arches were shown him that were closed up with it, not of equal thickness with the old wall, but with a single row of brick. On this, he formed the design of opening a way into the city, by breaking through that wall; and he hoped to be able to effect this before it should be discovered, if, by assaulting another part by scalade, and raising a tumult there, he could divert the attention of the besieged to the defence of the place attacked. There were in garrison at Cassandrea, besides the younger inhabitants, who formed no contemptible body, eight hundred Agrians and two thousand Illyrians from Penestia, sent thither by Pleuratus, and the men of both countries were remarkably warlike. While these were busy in defending the walls, and the Romans using their utmost efforts to scale them, in an instant of time the arches were broken down, and the city laid open; and if those who effected this had been armed, they must have immediately become masters of the town. When the soldiers were told that this work was accomplished, they were so elated with joy, that they raised a

sudden shout, expecting to force their way in at several different places.

XII. At first the enemy wondered what this sudden shout could mean; but when Pytho and Philip, the commanders of the garrison, were told that the city was laid open, they concluded that every advantage resulting from that event would be in favour of whichever party should make the first charge; and, therefore, they sallied out, with a strong body of Agrians and Illyrians, who, while the Romans were coming together from various parts, and endeavouring to form their battalions to march into the city, attacked them thus disordered and irregular: and, quickly routing them, drove them to the trench, into which they were tumbled, in heaps, one over another. About six hundred were killed in this action, and almost every one that was found between the wall and the trench was wounded. The blow meditated by the prætor, having thus recoiled on himself, damped his spirit for any other attempts; and, as Eumenes made little or no progress, though he carried on his operations both by land and sea, they concurred in a resolution to strengthen their guards, in order to prevent the introduction of any reinforcement from Macedonia; and, since they had not succeeded by assault, to carry on the siege by regular approaches. While they were adjusting matters, according to this plan, ten barks, belonging to Perseus, sent from Thessalonica, with a chosen body of Gallic auxiliaries, observing the enemy's ships lying at anchor in the road, took advantage of the darkness of the night, and, keeping as close to the shore as possible, in a single line, effected their passage to the city. Intelligence of this new addition of force obliged both the Romans and Eumenes to raise the siege. They then sailed round the promontory, and brought the fleet into the harbour of Toron. This town, also, they intended to besiege; but, perceiving that it had a strong garrison to defend it, they dropped the design, and

proceeded to Demetrias. When they approached this place, they saw the fortifications fully manned, they therefore sailed on, and brought the fleet into harbour at Iolcos, intending, after ravaging the country there, to proceed to the siege of Demetrias.

XIII. In the mean time, the consul, not to lie inactive, sent Marcus Popillius, with five thousand men, to reduce the city of Melibœa. This city stands at the foot of Mount Ossa, where it stretches out into Thessaly, and is very advantageously situated for commanding Demetrias. The towns-people were terrified by the approach of the enemy; but, soon recovering from the fright occasioned by the unexpectedness of the event, they ran hastily in arms to the gates and walls, to those parts where they apprehended an attack; so as to cut off from the enemy all hope of taking the place by an immediate assault. The Romans, therefore, made preparations for a siege, and began their works for making the approaches. When Perseus was informed of this, and that the fleet lay at Iolcos, intending to proceed thence to attack Demetrias, he sent Euphranor, one of his generals, with two thousand chosen men, to Melibœa. His orders were, that, if he could compel the Romans to retire from before the place, he should then march secretly into Demetrias, before the enemy should bring up their troops from Iolcos. As soon as the force employed against Melibœa beheld him on the high grounds, they abandoned their works in great consternation, and set them on fire. Thus was Melibœa relieved, and Euphranor marched instantly to Demetrias. His arrival gave the townsmen full confidence that they should be able, not only to defend their walls, but to protect their lands, also, from depredations; and they made several irruptions on the straggling parties of the plunderers, not without success. However, the prætor and the King rode round the walls to view the situation of the city, and try whether they might

attempt it on any side, either by storm or works. It was reported, that some overtures of friendship between Eumenes and Perseus were here agitated, through Cydas, a Cretan, and Antimachus, governor of Demetrias. It is certain, that the armies retired from Demetrias. Eumenes sailed to the consul; and, after congratulating him on his success in penetrating into Macedonia, went home to Pergamus. Marcus Figulus, the prætor, sent part of his fleet to winter at Sciathus, and with the remainder repaired to Orenm in Eubœa; judging that the most convenient place for sending supplies to the armies in Macedonia and Thessaly. There are very different accounts given respecting King Eumenes: if Valerius Antias is to be believed, he neither gave any assistance with his fleet to the prætor, though often solicited by letters; nor did he part with the consul in good humour, being offended at not being permitted to lie in the same camp with him; he says, too, that he could not be prevailed on even to leave the Gallic horsemen that he had brought with him. But his brother Attalus remained with the consul, and in the constant tenor of his conduct evinced a sincere attachment and an extraordinary degree of zeal and activity in the service.

XIV. While the war was proceeding thus in Macedonia, ambassadors came to Rome, from a chieftain of the Gauls beyond the Alps, whose name is said to have been Balanos, but of what tribe is not mentioned. They brought an offer of assistance towards the war in Macedonia. The senate returned him thanks, and sent him presents,—a golden chain of two pounds weight, golden bowls to the amount of four pounds, a horse completely caparisoned, and a suit of horseman's armour. Afterwards, the Gauls, ambassadors from Pamphylia, brought into the senate-house a golden crown, of the value of twenty thousand Philippics, and requested permission to deposit it, as an offering, in the shrine of Jupiter

supremely good and great, and to offer sacrifice in the Capitol, which was granted. The said ambassadors having expressed a wish to renew the treaty of friendship, a gracious answer was given, and a present was made to each of two thousand *asses**. Then audience was given to the ambassadors of King Prusias; and, a little after, to those of the Rhodians. The subject of both these embassies was the same, but their manner of treating it was widely different. The purpose of both was, to effect a peace with King Perseus. The address of Prusias consisted of intreaties rather than demands; for he declared, that "he had hitherto supported the cause of the Romans, and would continue to support it. But, on Perseus sending ambassadors to him, on the subject of putting an end to the war with Rome, he had promised them to become a mediator with the senate:" and he requested that, "if they could prevail on themselves to lay aside their resentment, they would allow him some share of merit in the re-establishment of peace." Such was the discourse of the King's ambassadors. The Rhodians, after ostentatiously recounting their many services to the Roman people, and arrogating to themselves rather the greater share of its successes, particularly in the case of King Antiochus, proceeded in this manner; that, "at a time when peace subsisted between the Macedonians and Romans, they likewise commenced a friendship with King Perseus, which they had, since, unwillingly broken, without having any reason to complain of him, but merely because it was the desire of the Romans to draw them into a confederacy in the war. For three years past, they felt many inconveniencies from the war. In consequence of the interruption of commerce, and the loss of their port duties and provisions, their island was distressed by a general scarcity. When their countrymen could no

* 6l. 9s. 2d.

longer suffer this, they had sent other ambassadors into Macedonia, to Perseus, to warn him that it was the wish of the Rhodians that he should conclude a peace with the Romans, and had sent them to Rome with the same message. The Rhodians would afterwards consider what measures they should judge proper to be taken against either party that should obstruct a pacification." I am convinced that no person, even at the present time, can hear or read such expressions without indignation; we may, then, easily judge what emotions they produced in the minds of the senators.

XV. According to the account of Claudius, no answer was given; and the senate only directed a decree to be read, by which the Roman people ordered that the Carians and Lycians should enjoy independence; and that a letter should be sent immediately to each of those nations, acquainting them therewith. On hearing which, the principal ambassador, whose arrogant demeanour, just before, seemed to hold the senate in contempt, sunk into abject despondency. Other writers say, that an answer was given to this effect: "That, at the commencement of the present war, the Roman people had learned, from unquestionable authority, that the Rhodians, in concert with King Perseus, had formed secret machinations against their commonwealth; and that, if that matter had been doubtful hitherto, the words of their ambassadors, just now, had reduced it to a certainty; as, in general, treachery, though at first sufficiently cautious, yet, in the end, betrays itself. The Rhodians, by their messengers, had acted the part of arbiters of war and peace throughout the world: at their nod the Romans must take up arms and lay them down; and must soon appeal, not to the gods, but to the Rhodians, for their sanction of treaties. And was this indeed the case; that, unless their orders were obeyed, and the armies withdrawn from Macedonia, they would consider what measures they should take? What the Rhodians might

determine, they themselves knew best; but the Roman people, as soon as the conquest of Perseus should be completed, an event which they hoped was at no great distance, would most certainly consider how to make due retribution to each state, according to its deserts in the course of the war." Nevertheless the usual presents of two thousand *asses* each were sent to the ambassadors, which they did not accept.

XVI. Then were read letters from the consul Quintus Marcius, informing the senate, that "he had passed the mountains, and penetrated into Macedonia; that the prætor had collected there, and procured from other places, stores of provisions for the approaching winter; and that he had bought from the Epirots twenty thousand measures of wheat, ten thousand of barley, the price of which he desired might be paid to their ambassadors in Rome: that clothing for the troops must be sent from Rome; and that he wanted about two hundred horses, which he wished to be Numidian; where he was, he could procure none." The senate decreed, that every thing should be done as desired in the consul's letter. The prætor, Caius Sulpicius, agreed with contractors for conveying into Macedonia six thousand gowns, thirty thousand tunics, and the horses, all which were to be approved by the consul; and he paid the Epirot ambassadors the price of the corn. He then introduced to the senate, Onesimus, son of Pytho, a Macedonian of distinction. He had always advised the King to peaceable measures, and recommended to him, that, as his father Philip had, to the last day of his life, made it an established rule to read over, twice every day, the treaty concluded with the Romans, so he should, if not daily, yet frequently, observe the same practice. Finding that he could not dissuade him from war, he at first absented himself on various pretences, that he might not be present at proceedings which he could not approve. But at last, having discovered that suspicions were harboured against him,

and hints thrown out of charging him with treason, he went over to the Romans, and was of great service to the consul. When he was introduced into the senate-house, he mentioned these circumstances, and the senate thereupon decreed that he should be enrolled in the number of their allies; that ample accommodations should be provided for him; also, a grant of two hundred acres of land, in that part of the Tarentine territory which was the public property of the Roman people; with a house in Tarentum. The charge of executing all which was committed to Caius Decimius, the prætor. On the ides of December, the censors performed the general survey with more severity than usual. A great many were deprived of their horses, among whom was Publius Rutilius, who, when tribune of the people, had carried on a violent prosecution against them; he was, besides, degraded from his tribe, and disfranchised. In pursuance of a decree of the senate, one half of the taxes of that year was paid by the quæstors into the hands of the censors, to defray the expenses of public works. Tiberius Sempronius, out of the money assigned to him, purchased for the public, the house of Publius Africanus, behind the old house, near the statue of Vertumnus, with the butchers' stalls and shops adjoining; where he built the public court-house, afterwards called the Sempronian.

XVII. The end of the year now approached, and people's thoughts were so deeply engaged by the war in Macedonia, that the general topic of their conversation was, what consuls they should choose, to bring that war, at length, to a conclusion. The senate, therefore, passed an order, that Cneius Servilius should come home, to hold the elections. Sulpicius, the prætor, sent the order of the senate to the consul; and, in a few days after, read his answer in public, wherein he promised to be in the city before the * * day of * * *. The consul came in due time, and the election was finished

on the day appointed. The consuls chosen were, Lucius Æmilius Paullus, a second time, fourteen years after his first consulship, and Caius Licinius Crassus. Next day, the following were appointed prætors: Cneius Bæbius Tamphilus, Lucius Anicius Gallus, Cneius Octavius, Publius Fonteius Balbus, Marcus Æbutius Elva, and Caius Papirius Carbo. The senate's anxiety about the Macedonian war stimulated them to more than ordinary expedition in all their proceedings; they therefore ordered, that the magistrates elect should immediately cast lots for their provinces, that it might be known which consul was to have the command in Macedonia, and which prætor that of the fleet; in order that they might, without loss of time, consider and prepare whatever was requisite for the service, and consult the senate on any point where their direction was necessary. They voted, that, "on the magistrates coming into office, the Latine festival should be celebrated as early as the rules of religion permitted; and that the consul, who was to go into Macedonia, should not be detained on account of it." When these orders were passed, Italy and Macedonia were named as the provinces for the consuls; and for the prætors, besides the two jurisdictions in the city, the fleet, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia. As to the consuls, Macedonia fell to Æmilius, Italy to Licinius. Of the prætors, Cneius Bæbius got the city jurisdiction; Lucius Anicius the foreign, under a rule to go wherever the senate should direct; Cneius Octavius, the fleet; Publius Fonteius, Spain; Marcus Æbutius, Sicily; and Caius Papirius, Sardinia.

XVIII. It immediately became evident to all, that the conduct of Lucius Æmilius, in the prosecution of the war, would not be deficient in vigour; for, besides the well-known energy of his character, his thoughts were turned, with unremitting attention, solely on the business relative to that war. In the first place, he requested the senate to send commis-

sioners into Macedonia, to review the armies and the fleet, and to bring authentic information respecting the wants both of the land and sea forces; to make what discoveries they could respecting the state of the King's forces; and to learn how much of the country was in our power, how much in that of the enemy; whether the Romans were still encamped among the woods and mountains, or had got clear of all the difficult passes, and were come down into the plains; who were faithful allies to us, who were doubtful, and ready to join either party that fortune favoured, and who were avowed enemies; what store of provisions was prepared, and whence new supplies might be brought by land carriage, whence by the fleet; and what progress had been made during the last campaign, either on land or sea. For he thought, that, by gaining a thorough knowledge of all these particulars, the plans for future proceedings might be constructed on sure grounds. The senate directed the consul Cneius Servilius to send as commissioners, into Macedonia, such persons as should be approved of by Lucius Æmilius. Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus, Aulus Licinius Nerva, and Lucius Bæbius, were commissioned accordingly, and they began their journey two days after. Towards the close of this year it was reported that two showers of stones had fallen, one in the territory of Rome, the other in that of Veii; and the nine days solemnity was performed. Of the priests, died this year, Publius Quintilius Varus, flamen of Mars, and Marcus Claudius Marcellus, decemvir, in whose room was substituted Cneius Octavius. It has been remarked, as an instance of the increasing magnificence of the times, that, in the Circensian games, exhibited by Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica and Publius Lentulus, curule ædiles, sixty-three panthers, with forty bears and elephants, made a part of the show.

XIX. At the beginning of the following year, Lucius Æmilius Paullus and Caius Licinius, consuls, having commenced their administration on the ides of March, the senators were impatient to hear what propositions were to be laid before them, particularly with respect to Macedonia, by the consul to whose lot that province had fallen; but Paullus said, that he had as yet nothing to propose to them, the commissioners not being returned: that "they were then at Brundusium, after having been twice driven back to Dyrrachium in attempting the passage: that he intended, shortly, to propose the business of his province to their consideration, when he should have obtained the information which was previously necessary, and which he expected within very few days." He added, that, "in order that nothing should delay his setting out, the day before the calends of April had been fixed for the Latine festival; after finishing which solemnity, he and Cneius Octavius would begin their journey as soon as the senate should direct: that, in his absence, his colleague Caius Licinius would take care that every thing necessary to be provided, or sent to the army, should be provided and sent; and that, in the mean time, audience might be given to the embassies of foreign nations." The usual sacrifice being duly offered, the first introduced were ambassadors from Alexandria, sent by King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra. They came into the senate-house dressed in mourning, with their hair and beard neglected, holding in their hands branches of olive; there they prostrated themselves, and their discourse was even more piteous than their dress. Antiochus, King of Syria, who had formerly been a hostage at Rome, had lately, under the honourable pretext of restoring the elder Ptolemy to the throne, made war on his younger brother, then in possession of Alexandria; and having gained the victory, in a sea-fight off Pelusium, and thrown a temporary bridge across

Y.R. 584. B.C. 168.

the Nile, he led over his army, and laid siege to Alexandria itself, to the great terror of the inhabitants; so that he seemed almost on the point of taking possession of that very opulent kingdom. The ambassadors, after complaining of these proceedings, besought the senate to succour those princes, the faithful friends of their empire. They said, that "such had been the kindness of the Roman people to Antiochus, such its influence over all kings and nations, that, if they only sent ambassadors, to give him notice that the senate were displeased at war being made with princes in alliance with them, he would instantly retire from the walls of Alexandria, and lead his army home into Syria. But, if this were not done, Ptolemy and Cleopatra would soon come to Rome in the character of dethroned exiles, which must excite some degree of shame in the Roman people, for having neglected to succour them in their extreme distress." The senate were so much affected by the supplications of the Alexandrians, that they immediately sent Caius Popillius Lænas, Caius Decimius, and Caius Hostilius, ambassadors, to put an end to the dispute between those kings. Their instructions were, to go first to Antiochus, then to Ptolemy; and to acquaint them, that, unless hostilities were stopped, whichever party should give cause to their continuance, must expect to be considered by the senate as neither a friend nor an ally.

XX. These ambassadors set out, within three days, in company with those of Alexandria; and, on the last day of the feast of Minerva, the commissioners arrived from Macedonia. Their coming had been so impatiently wished for, that, if it had not been very late in the day, the consuls would have assembled the senate immediately. Next day the senate met, and received the report of the commissioners. They stated, that "the army had been led through pathless and difficult wilds into Macedonia, with more risk than advantage: that Pieria, to which its march had been directed, was then pos-

sessed by the King; and the two camps so close to each other, as to be separated only by the river Enipeus: that the King was not disposed to fight, nor was our general strong enough to compel him; and, besides, that the severity of the winter had interrupted all military operations: that the soldiers were maintained in idleness, and had not corn sufficient for more than six *days*: that the force of the Macedonians was said to mount to thirty thousand effective men: that if Appius Claudius had a sufficient force at Lychnidus, the King might be perplexed by his standing between two enemies; but that, as the case stood, both Appius, and the troops under his command, were in the utmost danger, unless either a regular army were speedily sent thither, or they were removed thence. From the camp," they stated that "they had gone to the fleet; where they learned, that many of the seamen had perished by sickness; that others, particularly such as came from Sicily, had gone off to their own homes; and that the ships were in want of men, while those who were on board had neither pay nor clothing: that Eumenes and his fleet, as if driven thither accidentally, had both come and gone away without any apparent reason; nor did the intentions of that King seem to be thoroughly settled." While their report stated every particular in the conduct of Eumenes as dubious, it represented Attalus as steady and faithful in the highest degree.

XXI. After the commissioners were heard, Lucius Æmilius said, that he then proposed for consideration the business of the war; and the senate decreed, that "tribunes for eight legions should be appointed, half by the consuls, and half by the people; but that none should be named for that year who had not held some office of magistracy: that, out of all the military tribunes, Lucius Æmilius should select such as he chose for the two legions that were to serve in Macedonia; and that, as soon as the Latine festival should

be finished, the said consul, with the prætor Cneius Octavius, to whose lot the fleet had fallen, should repair to that province." To these was added a third, Lucius Anicius, the prætor who had the foreign jurisdiction; for it was resolved that he should succeed Appius Claudius in the province of Illyria, near Lychnidus. The charge of raising recruits was laid on the consul Caius Licinius, who was ordered to enlist, of Roman citizens, seven thousand foot and two hundred horse, and to demand, from the Latine confederates, seven thousand foot and four hundred horse; and also to write to Cneius Servilius, governor of Gaul, to raise there six hundred horse. This force he was ordered to send, with all expedition, into Macedonia, to his colleague. It was resolved, that there should be no more than two legions in that province, but that their numbers should be filled up so as that each should contain six thousand foot and three hundred horse; and that the rest of the foot and horse should be placed in the different garrisons; that such men as were unfit for service should be discharged, and that the allies should be obliged to raise another body of ten thousand foot, and eight hundred horse. These were assigned as a reinforcement to Anicius, in addition to the two legions which he was ordered to carry into Illyria, consisting each of five thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse; and five thousand seamen were raised for the fleet. The consul Licinius was ordered to employ two legions in the service of his province, and to add to them ten thousand foot and six hundred horse of the allies.

XXII. When the senate had passed these decrees, the consul Lucius Æmilius went out from the senate-house into the assembly of the people, whom he addressed in a discourse to this effect: "Romans, I think I have perceived that your congratulations, on my obtaining, by lot, the province of Macedonia, were warmer than either when I was saluted consul,

or on the day of my commencement in office; for which I can assign no other reason, than your having conceived an opinion, that I shall be able to bring the war with Perseus, which has been long protracted, to a conclusion becoming the majesty of the Roman people. I trust, that the gods also have favoured this disposal of the lots, and will give me their aid. That some of these consequences will ensue, I have reason to believe; that the rest will, I have grounds to expect. One thing I know, and take upon me to affirm, with certainty; which is, that I will endeavour, by every exertion in my power, that the hope which you have conceived of me may not be frustrated. Every thing necessary for the service, the senate has ordered; and, as it has been resolved, that I am to go abroad immediately, and I do not wish to delay; my colleague, Caius Licinius, whose excellent character you well know, will forward every measure with as much zeal, as if he himself were to carry on that war. I request, that full credit may be given to whatever I shall write to you, or to the senate; but that you will not encourage the propagation of rumours unsupported by authority. For, as the practice is at present, (and I have observed it to be uncommonly frequent, since this year began,) no man can so entirely divest himself of all regard to common fame, as not to let his spirits be damped. In every circle, and, truly, at every table, there are people who lead armies into Macedonia; who know where the camp ought to be placed; what posts ought to be occupied by troops; when and through what pass that territory should be entered; where magazines should be formed; how provisions should be conveyed by land and sea; and when it is proper to engage the enemy, when to lie quiet. And they not only determine what is best to be done, but, if any thing is done, in any other manner than what they have pointed out, they arraign the consul, as if he were on trial before them. These are great impediments to those who

have the management of affairs; for every one cannot encounter injurious reports with the same constancy and firmness of mind as Fabius did, who chose to let his own ability be questioned through the folly of the people, rather than to mismanage the public business with a high reputation. I am not one of those who think that commanders ought at no time to receive advice; on the contrary, I should deem that man more proud than wise, who regulated every proceeding by the standard of his own single judgment. What then is my opinion? That commanders should be counselled, chiefly, by persons of known talent; by those who have made the art of war their particular study, and whose knowledge is derived from experience; from those who are present at the scene of action, who see the country, who see the enemy; who see the advantages that occasions offer, and who, like people embarked in the same ship, are sharers of the danger. If, therefore, any one thinks himself qualified to give advice respecting the war which I am to conduct, which may prove advantageous to the public, let him not refuse his assistance to the state, but let him come with me into Macedonia. He shall be furnished with a ship, a horse, a tent; even his travelling charges shall be defrayed. But if he thinks this too much trouble, and prefers the repose of a city life to the toils of war, let him not, on land, assume the office of a pilot. The city, in itself, furnishes abundance of topics for conversation; let it confine its passion for talking within its own precincts, and rest assured, that we shall pay no attention to any councils, but such as shall be framed within our camp." Soon after this speech, the Latine festival being celebrated on the day before the calends of April, and the sacrifice on the mount affording favourable omens, the consul, and Cneius Octavius, the prætor, set out directly for Macedonia. Some writers mention, that the consul, at his departure, was escorted by multitudes unusually numerous; and that people,

with confident hope, presaged a conclusion of the Macedonian war, and the speedy return of the consul, to a glorious triumph.

XXIII. During these occurrences in Italy, Perseus, though he could not, at first, prevail on himself to complete the design which he had projected, of attaching to his party Gentius, King of Illyria, on account of the money which would be demanded for it; yet, when he found, that the Romans had penetrated through the difficult passes, and that the final determination of the war drew near, resolved to defer it no longer, and having, by his ambassador Hippias, consented to pay three thousand talents of silver,* provided hostages were given on both sides; he now sent Pantauchus, one of his most trusty friends, to conclude the business. Pantauchus met the Illyrian King at Medeo, in the province of Labeas, and there received his oath and the hostages. Gentius likewise sent an ambassador, named Olympio, to require an oath and hostages from Perseus. Together with him, came persons to receive the money; and, by the advice of Pantauchus, to go to Rhodes, with ambassadors from Macedonia. For this purpose, Parmenio and Morcus were appointed. Their instructions were, first, to receive the King's oath, the hostages, and money; and then to proceed to Rhodes; and it was hoped, that, by the joint influence of the two Kings, the Rhodians might be prevailed upon to declare war against Rome, and that, if they were joined by that state, which was acknowledged to hold the first rank as a maritime power, the Romans would be precluded from every prospect of success, either on land or sea. On hearing of the approach of the Illyrians, Perseus marched at the head of all his cavalry, from his camp on the Enipeus, and met them at Dius. There the articles agreed on were executed in the presence of the

* 58,125l.

troops, who were drawn up in a circle for the purpose; for the King chose that they should be witness to the ratification of the treaty with Gentius, supposing that this event would add greatly to their confidence of success. The hostages were given and taken in the sight of all; those who were to receive the money, were sent to Pella, where the King's treasure lay; and the persons who were to go to Rhodes, with the Illyrian ambassadors, were ordered to take ship at Thessalonica. There was present one Metrodorus, who had lately come from Rhodes, and who, on the authority of Dinon and Polyaratus, two principal members of that state, affirmed, that the Rhodians were ready to join in the war; he was set at the head of the joint embassy.

XXIV. At this time Perseus sent ambassadors to Eumenes and Antiochus, charged with the same message to both, which was such as the state of affairs might seem to suggest: that "a free state, and a king, were, in their natures, hostile to each other. That the practice of the Roman people was, to attack kings, singly, one after another; and, what was more shameful, to work the destruction of them, by the power of other kings. Thus, his father was overpowered by the aid of Attalus; and by the assistance of Eumenes, and of his father Philip, in part, Antiochus was vanquished; and now, both Eumenes and Prusias were armed against himself. If the regal power should be abolished in Macedonia; the next, in their way, would be Asia, which they had already rendered, in part, their own, under the pretence of liberating the states; and next to that lay Syria. Already Prusias was honoured by them far beyond Eumenes; and already Antiochus, in the moment of victory, was forbid to touch Egypt, the prize of his arms." He desired each of them to "consider these matters seriously; and to guard against future contingencies, either by compelling the Romans to make peace with him, or, if they should persist in such an unjust war, by

treating them as common enemies." The message to Antiochus was sent openly; the ambassador to Eumenes went under the pretence of ransoming prisoners. But some more secret business was transacted between them, which, in addition to the jealousy and distrust already conceived by the Romans against Eumenes, *brought on him charges* of a heavier nature. For they considered him as a traitor, and nearly as an enemy, while the two Kings laboured to overreach each other in schemes of fraud and avarice. There was a Cretan, Called Cydas, an intimate of Eumenes; this man had formerly conferred, at Amphipolis, with one Chimarus, a countryman of his own, serving in the army of Perseus; and he, afterwards, had one meeting with Menecrates, and another with Archidamus, both officers under the King at Demetrias, close under the wall of the town. Cryphon, too, who was sent on that business, had, before that, executed two embassies to the same Eumenes. These conferences and embassies were notorious; but what the subject of them was, or what agreement had taken place between the Kings, remained a secret.

XXV. Now the truth of the matter was this: Eumenes neither wished success to Perseus, nor intended to employ his arms against him; and his ill-will arose, not so much from the enmity which they inherited from their fathers, as from the personal quarrels which had broken out between themselves. The jealousy of the two Kings was not so moderate, that Eumenes could, with patience, have seen Perseus acquiring so vast a share of power and of fame as must fall to his lot, if he conquered the Romans. Besides which, he saw that Perseus, from the commencement of the war, had tried every means which he could devise to bring about a peace; and every day, as the danger approached nearer, his wishes for it grew stronger; insomuch, that all his thoughts and actions were directed to that alone. He con-

sidered too, that as the war had been protracted beyond the expectations of the Romans, their commanders and senate would not be averse from putting an end to it, attended as it was with so great inconvenience and difficulty. Having discovered this inclination in both parties, he concluded, that, from the disgust of the stronger party, and the fears of the weaker, a pacification would probably ensue in the ordinary course of things; and therefore he wished to act in such a manner, as might enable him to assume to himself the merit of having effected a reconciliation. He therefore, sometimes, laboured to stipulate for a consideration for not affording assistance to the Romans, either on sea or land; at other times, for bringing about a peace with them. He demanded, for not interfering in the war, one thousand talents*; for effecting a peace, one thousand five hundred†; and for his sincerity in either case, he professed himself willing, not only to make oath, but to give hostages also. Perseus, stimulated by his fears, showed the greatest readiness in the beginning of the negotiation, and treated on the article respecting the hostages; when it was agreed, that, on their being received, they should be sent to Crete. But when the sum required came to be mentioned, there he hesitated; remarking that, in the case of kings of their high character, one, at least, of the considerations was too mean and sordid, both with respect to the giver, and still more so with respect to the receiver. He was sufficiently inclined to purchase a peace with Rome, but declined paying the money until the business should be concluded; proposing to lodge it, in the mean time, in the temple of Samothrace. As that island was under his own dominion, Eumenes said, that the money might as well be at Pella; and he struggled hard to obtain some part of it at the present.

* 193,750l. † 290,625l.

Thus, after all their endeavours to circumvent each other, they gained nothing but disgrace.

XXVI. This was not the only business which Perseus left unfinished from motives of avarice. It is seen that, for a small sum of money, he might have procured, through Eumenes, a secure peace, well purchased even with half of his kingdom; while, if defrauded, he might have exposed him to public view, as an enemy laden with the hire of treachery, and drawn upon him the just resentment of the Romans. It was from the same disposition that the alliance of King Gentius, when just brought to a conclusion, with the assistance of a large *army* of Gauls, who had penetrated through Illyria, and offered themselves to him, were lost: of these, came ten thousand horsemen, and the same number of footmen. The practice of the latter was to keep pace with the horses in their movements, and when any of the riders fell to mount in their place and carry on the fight. They had stipulated, that each horseman should receive, in immediate payment, ten golden philippicks, each footman five, and their commander one thousand. Perseus went from his camp on the Enipeus with half of his forces to meet them; and issued orders through the towns and villages near the road, to prepare provisions, so that they might have plenty of corn, wine, and cattle. He brought with him some horses, trappings, and cloaks, for presents to the chiefs; and a small quantity of gold to be divided among a few; for the multitude, he supposed, might be amused with hopes. He advanced as far as the city of Almana, and encamped on the bank of the river Axius, at which time the army of the Gauls lay near Desudaba, in Mædica, waiting for the promised hire. Thither he sent Antigonus, one of his nobles, with directions, that the said army should remove their camp to Bylazor, a place in Pæonia, and that their chiefs should come to him. They were at this time seventy-five miles distant from the river Axius, and

the King's camp. Antigonus, in his message, told them what great plenty of every thing was provided on the road by the King's directions, and what presents of apparel, money, and horses he intended for them on their arrival. They answered, that they would judge of those things when they saw them; at the same time asking him, whether, according to their stipulation for immediate payment, he had brought with him the gold which was to be distributed to each footman and horseman? To this no direct answer was given, on which Clondicus, their prince, said, "Go back, then, and tell your King, that, until they receive the gold and the hostages, the Gauls will never move one step farther." The King, on receipt of this declaration, called a council: and, as it was very plain what advice all the members would give; he, being a better guardian of his money than of his kingdom, began to descant on the perfidy and savage behaviour of the Gauls. "The disasters," he said, "of many states demonstrated, that it would be dangerous to admit such a multitude into Macedonia, lest they might feel such allies more troublesome than their Roman enemies. Five thousand horsemen would be enough for them to employ in the war, and that number they need not be afraid to receive."

XXVII. Every one understood him; but as none had the courage to declare their opinion, when asked, Antigonus was sent again, with a message, that the King chose to employ only five thousand horsemen, and set no value on the rest of their number. When the Barbarians heard this, they began to murmur, and show a great deal of anger at being brought so far from home; but Clondicus again asked him, whether he would pay even the five thousand, the hire agreed on. To this question, too, he received only evasive answers; on which the Gauls, dismissing the insidious envoy unhurt, which was what he himself had scarcely hoped, returned home to the Danube, after utterly wasting such lands of

Thrace as lay near their road. Now, had this body of troops, while the King lay quiet on the Enipeus, been led, through the passes of Perrhæbia, into Thessaly, it might not only have stripped that country so bare, that the Romans could not expect supplies from thence; but might even have destroyed the cities themselves, while Perseus, by detaining his enemy at the river, would have put it out of their power to succour their allies. This done, the Romans had even found it difficult enough to take care of themselves, since they could neither stay where they were, after losing Thessaly, whence their army drew sustenance, nor move forward, as the camp of the Macedonians *stood in their way. By this error, Perseus enlivened the hopes of the Romans*, and damped not a little *those of the Macedonians*, who had placed much of their dependence on the prospect of that reinforcement. Through the same love of riches, he alienated King Gentius from his interest. When he paid, at Pella, three hundred talents to the persons sent by Gentius, he allowed them to seal up the money. He then ordered the talents to be carried to Pantauchus, and which he desired should be given immediately to the King. His people, who had charge of the money, sealed with the seals of the Illyrians, had directions to proceed by short journies, and when they should come to the bounds of Macedonia to halt there, and wait for a message from him. Gentius, having received this small portion of the money, and being incessantly urged by Pantauchus to commence hostilities against the Romans, threw into custody Marcus Perperna, and Lucius Petillius, who happened to come at that time as ambassadors. As soon as Perseus heard this, thinking that the Illyrian had now laid himself under a necessity of waging war with the Romans at least, he sent to recall his money-carriers, as if to make a saving for the Romans, and that their booty, on his being conquered, might be as great as possible. Cryphon, too, returned from

Eumenes, without having succeeded in any of his secret negociations. The parties themselves had mentioned publicly, that the business of the prisoners was concluded, and Eumenes, to elude suspicion, informed the consul that it was so.

XXVIII. Upon the return of Cryphon from Eumenes, Perseus, disappointed in his hopes from that quarter, sent Antenor and Callippus, the commanders of his fleet, with forty barks, to which were added five heavy gallies, to Tenedos, that, spreading among the islands of the Cyclades, they might protect the vessels sailing to Macedonia with corn. This squadron, setting sail from Cassandrea, steered, first, to the harbour at the foot of Mount Athos, and crossing over thence, with mild weather, to Tenedos, found lying in the harbour a number of Rhodian undecked ships, under the command of Eudamus; these they did not offer to molest, but, after conversing with their officers in friendly terms, suffered them to pursue their course. Then, learning that, on the other side of the island, fifty transports of their own were shut up by a squadron of Eumenes, commanded by Damius, which lay in the mouth of the harbour, they sailed round with all haste; and the enemy's ships retiring, through fear, they sent on the transports to Macedonia, under convoy of ten barks, which had orders to return to Tenedos as soon as they saw them safe. Accordingly, on the ninth day after, they rejoined the fleet, then lying at Sigeum. From thence they sailed over to Subota, an island between Elea and Athos. The next day, after the fleet had reached Subota, it happened that thirty-five vessels, of the kind called horse-transports, sent by Eumenes to Attalus, and which had sailed from Elea, with Gallic horsemen and their horses, were steering towards Phanæ, a promontory of Chios, from whence they intended to cross over to Macedonia. A signal being given to Antenor, from a post of observation, that these ships were passing along the main, he left Subota, and met them between

Cape Erythræ and Chios, where the strait is narrowest. Eumenes' officers could with difficulty believe, that a Macedonian fleet was cruising in that sea; they imagined that they were Romans, or that Attalus, or some people sent home by him from the Roman camp, were on their way to Pergamus. But when, on their nearer approach, the shape of the vessels was plainly perceived, and when the briskness of their rowing, and their prows being directed straight against the others, proved that they were enemies, dismay seized all on board; for they had no hope of being able to make resistance, their ships being of an unwieldy kind, and the Gauls, even when left quiet, ill able to live at sea. Some, who were nearest to the shore of the continent, swam to Erythræ; some, crowding all their sail, ran the ships aground near Chios; and, leaving their horses behind, fled thither in haste. The barks, however, effected a landing nearer to the city, where the access was more convenient, but the Macedonians overtook and put to the sword the flying Gauls, some on the road, and some before the gate, where they were refused entrance; for the people had shut it, not knowing who they were that fled, or who that pursued. About eight hundred Gauls were killed, and two hundred made prisoners. Of the horses, some were lost in the sea, by the ships being wrecked, and others were ham-strung by the Macedonians on the shore. Antenor ordered the same ten barks, which he had employed before, to carry twenty horses of extraordinary beauty, with the prisoners, to Thessalonica, and to return to the fleet as speedily as possible; saying, that he would wait for them at Phanæ. The fleet staid three days at Chios, and then proceeded to Phanæ; where being joined by the ten barks, sooner than was expected, they set sail, and crossed the Ægean sea to Delos.

XXIX. About this time the Roman ambassadors, Caius Popillius, Caius Decimius, and Caius Hostilius, having sail-

ed from Chalcis with three quinqueremes, arrived at Delos, and found there forty Macedonian barks, and five quinqueremes belonging to Eumenes. The sacred character of the island secured all parties from any kind of violence; so that the Roman and Macedonian seamen, and those of Eumenes, used to meet promiscuously in Apollo's fane. Antenor, the commander of Perseus's fleet, having learned, by signals from his watch-posts, that several transport ships were passing by at sea, went himself in pursuit with one half of his barks, (sending the other half to cruise among the Cyclades,) and sunk or plundered every ship he met with. Popillius and Eumenes assisted as many as they were able during the day; but, in the night, the Macedonians, sailing out, generally with two or three vessels, passed unseen. About this time, ambassadors from Macedonia and Illyria came together to Rhodes. The attention paid to them was the greater, in consequence of their squadron cruising freely among the Cyclades, and over all the Ægean sea, and likewise on account of the junction of Perseus and Gentius, and of the report of a great body of Gauls, both horse and foot, being on their march, in aid of those Kings. Dinon and Polyaratus, the warm partizans of Perseus, now took fresh courage, and the Rhodians not only gave a favourable answer to the ambassadors, but declared publicly, that "they would put an end to the war by their own influence; and, therefore, desired the Kings to dispose themselves to accede to an accommodation."

XXX. It was now the beginning of spring, and the new commanders had arrived in their provinces; the consul Æmilius in Macedonia, Octavius at Oreum, where the fleet lay, and Anicius in Illyria, to carry on the war against Gentius. This prince, who was the son of Pleuratus, King of Illyria, and his Queen Eurydice, had two brothers, one called Plator, by both parents, the other Caravantius, by the same

mother only. From the latter, as descended of ignoble ancestors, on his father's side, he apprehended no competition; but, in order to secure himself on the throne, he had put to death Plator, and two of his most active friends, Etritus and Epicadus. It was rumoured, that he was actuated by jealousy towards his surviving brother, who had concluded a treaty of marriage with Etula, the daughter of Honurius, prince of the Dardanians, supposing him to intend, by that match, to engage that nation in his interest; and this supposition was rendered the more probable by Gentius marrying her, after the death of Plator. From this time, when he was delivered from the fear of his brother, his treatment of his subjects became highly oppressive, and the natural violence of his temper was inflamed by an immoderate use of wine. Having been prevailed on, as was mentioned above, to go to war with the Romans, he collected all his forces, amounting to fifteen thousand men, at Lissus. From thence, detaching his brother, with one thousand foot and fifty horse, to reduce, either by force or terror, the province of Cavia, he marched himself to Bassania, a city five miles distant from Lissus. As the inhabitants were in alliance with Rome, he first sent emissaries to sound their intentions, who found them determined rather to endure a siege than surrender. In Caira, the people of the town of Burnium cheerfully opened their gates to Caravantius, on his arrival; but another town, called Caravantis, refused him admittance. He spread depredations over their lands, but many of his straggling soldiers were killed by parties of the peasants. By this time Appius Claudius, having joined to his former force some bodies of auxiliaries, composed of Bulinians, Apollonians, and Dyrrhachians, had left his winter quarters, and was encamped near the river Genusus. Having heard of the treaty between Perseus and Gentius, and being highly provoked at the ill treatment offered by the latter to the ambassadors, he de-

clared his determination to employ his army against him. The prætor Anicius, who was now at Apollonia, being informed of what passed in Illyria, dispatched a letter to Appius, desiring him to wait for him at the Genusus; and, in three days after, he arrived in the camp. *Having added* to the auxiliary troops, which he then had, two thousand foot and two hundred horse of the Parthinians, (the foot commanded by Epicadus, and the horse by Agalsus,) he prepared to march into Illyria, where his principal object at present was, the raising the siege of Basania. But his enterprise was retarded by an account brought him, of the sea-coast being ravaged by a number of the enemy's barks. These were eighty vessels, which, by the advice of Pantauchus, Gentius had sent to waste the lands of the Dyrrachians and Apollonians. *The Roman fleet was then lying near Apollonia. Anicius hastily repaired thither, soon overtook the Illyrian plunderers, brought them to an engagement, and, defeating them with very little trouble, took many of their ships, and compelled the rest to retire to Illyria. Returning thence to the camp at the Genusus, he hastened to the relief of Bassania. Gentius did not wait the prætor's coming; but, raising the siege, retired to Scodra with such precipitate haste, that he left part of his army behind. This was a large body of forces, which, if their courage had been supported by the presence of their commander, might have given some check to the Romans; but, as he had forsaken them,* they surrendered.

XXXI. The cities of that country, one after another, followed the example; their own inclinations being encouraged by the justice and clemency which the Roman prætor showed to all. The army then advanced to Scodra, which was the most important place in the hands of the enemy, not merely because Gentius had chosen it for the metropolis of his kingdom, but because it has by far the strongest fortifica-

tions of any in the territory of the Labeatians, and is of very difficult access. Two sides of it are defended by two rivers; the eastern side, by the Clausula; and the western, by the Barbana, which rises out of the lake Labeatus. These two rivers, uniting their streams, fall into the river Oriuns, which, running down from Mount Scodrus, and being augmented by many others, empties itself into the Adriatic sea. Mount Scodrus is much the highest hill in all that country; at its foot, towards the east, lies Dardania; towards the south, Macedonia; and towards the west, Illyria. Notwithstanding that the town was so strong, from the nature of its situation, and was garrisoned by the whole force of the Illyrian nation, with the King himself at their head, yet the Roman prætor, encouraged by the happy success of his first enterprises, and hoping that things would proceed in the same train in which they had hitherto gone, and thinking also that a sudden alarm might have a powerful effect, advanced to the walls with his troops in order of battle. But, if the garrison had kept their gates shut, and manned the walls and the towers of the gates with soldiers, they might have repulsed the Romans, and baffled all their attempts; instead of which they marched out of the town, and, on equal ground, commenced a battle with more courage than they supported it: for, being forced to give way, they crowded on one another in their retreat, and above two hundred having fallen in the very entrance of the gate, the rest were so terrified, that Gentius immediately dispatched Teuticus and Bellus, two of the first men of the nation, to the prætor, to beg a truce, in order to gain time to deliberate on the state of his affairs. He was allowed three days for the purpose, and, as the Roman camp was about five hundred paces from the city, he went on board a ship, and sailed up the river Barbana, into the lake of Labeatus, as if in search of a retired place, where he might hold his councils; but, as afterwards appeared, he was led by a groundless

report, that his brother Caravantius was coming, with many thousands of soldiers collected in the country, to which he had been sent. This rumour dying away, on the third day he sailed down the river to Scodra; and, after sending forward messengers, to request an interview with the prætor, and obtaining his consent, came into the camp. He began his discourse with reproaches against himself, for the folly of his conduct; then descended to tears and prayers, and falling at the prætor's knees, gave himself up into his power. He was at first desired to keep up his spirits, and was even invited to supper? he was allowed to go back into the city to his people, and, for that day, was entertained by the prætor with every mark of respect. On the day following, he was delivered into custody, to Caius Cassius, a military tribune, to which unhappy situation he had let himself be reduced for a consideration of ten talents, scarcely the hire of a party of gladiators.

XXXII. The first thing Anicius did, after taking possession of Scodra, was, to order the ambassadors Petillius and Perperna, to be sought for and brought to him; and he enabled them to appear again with a proper degree of splendour. He then immediately dispatched Perperna to seize the King's friends and relations; who, hastening to Medeo, a city of Labeatia, conducted to the camp at Scodra, Etleva, the King's consort; his brother Caravantius; with his two sons, Scerdiletus and Pleuratus. Anicius, having brought the Illyrian war to a conclusion within thirty days, sent Perperna to Rome with the news of his success; and, in a few days after, King Gentius himself, with his mother, queen, children, and brother, and other Illyrians of distinction. It was a singular circumstance respecting this war, that people in Rome received an account of its being finished, before they knew it was begun. Perseus, in the mean time, laboured under dreadful apprehensions, on account of the approach,

both of the new consul Æmilius, whose threatenings, as he heard, were highly alarming, and also of the prætor Octavius: for he dreaded the Roman fleet, and the danger which threatened the sea-coast, no less than he did the army. Eumenes and Athenagoras commanded at Thessalonica, with a small garrison of two thousand targeteers. Thither he sent Androcles, as governor, and ordered him to keep the troops encamped close by the naval arsenals. He ordered one thousand horse, under Antigonus, to Ænia, to guard the sea-coast; directing them, whenever they should hear of the enemy's fleet approaching the shore in any part, instantly to hasten thither, to protect the country people. Five thousand Macedonians were sent to garrison the mountains Pythium and Petra, commanded by Histiæus, Theogenes, and Milo. After making these detachments, he set about fortifying the bank of the river Enipeus, for the channel being nearly dry, the passage was practicable; and, in order that all the men might apply themselves to this work, the women were obliged to bring provisions from the neighbouring cities into the camp. He ordered the soldiers *to fetch timber* from the woods which were not far distant, *and erected on the bank such formidable works, strengthened with towers and engines, as he trusted would effectually bar the passage against any effort of the Romans. On the other side, the more diligence and caution Paullus saw the Macedonians use, the more assiduously did he study to devise some means of frustrating those hopes, which the enemy had not without reason conceived. But he suffered immediate distress from the scarcity of water, the river furnishing but little, and that putrid, in the part contiguous to the sea.*

XXXIII. *The consul, after searching in every place in the neighbourhood for water, and being told that none could be found,* at last ordered the water-carriers to attend him to the shore, which was not three hundred paces distant, and there

to dig holes in several places, not far from each other. The great height of the mountains gave him reason to suppose that they contained in their bowels several bodies of water, the branches of which made their way under ground to the sea, and mixed with its waters; and this appeared the more probable, as they discharged no streams above ground. Scarcely was the surface of the sand removed, when springs began to boil up, small at first and muddy, but in a little time they threw out clear water in great plenty, as if through the favourable interference of the gods. This circumstance added greatly to the reputation and influence of the general in the minds of the soldiers. He then ordered them to get ready their arms; and went himself, with the tribunes and first centurions, to examine the river, in hopes of finding a passage, where the descent would be easy, and where the ascending the other bank would be least difficult. After taking a sufficient view of these matters, he made it his first care to provide, that, in the movements of the army, every thing should be done regularly, and without noise, at the first order and beck of the general. Though notice was proclaimed of what was to be done, every one did not distinctly hear; and, as the orders received were not clear, some did more than was ordered, while others did less; while dissonant shouts were raised in every quarter, insomuch that the enemy knew sooner than the soldiers themselves, what was intended. He therefore directed, that the military tribune should communicate, secretly, to the first centurion of the legion, then he to the next, and that so on, in order that each should tell the next to him in rank, what was requisite to be done, whether the instructions were to be conveyed from front to rear, or from rear to front. According to a practice lately introduced, the centinels carried shields to their posts; this he forbade; for as a centinel did not go to fight, but to watch, he had no occasion for arms; it was his duty, when he perceived

an enemy approaching, to retire, and to give the alarm. They used to stand with their helmets on, and their shields erected on the ground before them; when tired, they leaned on their spears; or laying their heads on the edge of their shields, stood dosing in such a manner, that from the glittering of their arms they could be seen afar off by the enemy, while themselves could see nothing. He likewise altered the practice of the advanced guards. Formerly, the guards were kept on duty through the whole day, all under arms, the horsemen with their horses bridled; and when this happened in summer, under a continual scorching sun, both men and horses were so much exhausted by the heat and the languor contracted in so many hours, that very often, when attacked by fresh troops, a small number was able to get the better of a much superior one. He therefore ordered, that the party which mounted guard in the morning, should be relieved at noon by another, which was to do the duty for the rest of the day; by which means they would never be in danger of the like easy defeat.

XXXIV. Æmilius, after publishing, in a general assembly, his orders for these regulations, added observations, of the same purport with those contained in the speech which he had made in the city, that "it was the business of the commander, alone, to consider what was proper to be done, sometimes singly, sometimes in conjunction with those whom he should call to council; and that such as were not called, ought not to pronounce judgment on affairs either in public or in private. That it was a soldier's business to attend to these three things,—his body, that he may keep it in perfect strength and agility; his armour, that it may be always in good order; with his stores of all kinds, so as to be ready in case of a sudden order; and to rest assured, that all other matters relating to him will be directed by the immortal gods and his captain. That in any army, where the soldiers formed plans,

and that the chief was called, first one way, then another, by the voice of the idle multitude, nothing could ever succeed. For his part," he declared, that " he would take care, as was the duty of a general, to afford them occasion of acting with success. On their part, they were to make no inquiries whatever as to his designs; but when the signal was given, to discharge the duty of a soldier." Having thus admonished them, he dismissed the assembly, while the veterans themselves acknowledged, that on that day, for the first time, they had, like recruits, been taught the business of a soldier. Nor did they, by such expressions only, demonstrate their high approbation of the consul's discourse; but the effect of it on their behaviour was immediate. In the whole camp, not one person was to be seen idle; some were employed in sharpening their weapons; others in scouring their helmets and cheek-pieces, their shields and breast-plates; some fitted their armour to their bodies, and tried how well they could move their limbs under it; some brandished their spears, others flourished their swords, and tried the points; so that it could be easily perceived that their intention was, whenever they should come to battle, to finish the war at once, either by a glorious victory, or an honourable death. On the other side, when Perseus saw that, in consequence of the arrival of the consul, and of the opening of the spring, all was motion and bustle among the Romans; and that their general had pitched his camp on the opposite bank of the Enipeus, where he employed himself busily, sometimes in going round and examining all his works, with a view of finding some place where he might pass the river; *and sometimes in preparing every thing requisite for attack or defence; he exerted himself, no less diligently on his part, to rouse the courage of his soldiers, and add strength to his defences, as if he expected an immediate engagement. How-*

ever, though both parties were full of ardour, they lay a long time very near each other without any action.

XXXV. *In the mean time, news was received that King Gentius had been defeated, in Illyria, by the prætor Anicius; and that himself, his family, and his whole kingdom, were in the hands of the commonwealth;* which event greatly raised the spirits of the Romans, and struck no small degree of terror into the Macedonians and their King. At first, Perseus endeavoured to suppress the intelligence, and sent messengers to Pantauchus, who was on his way from that country, forbidding him to come near the camp; but some of his people had already seen certain boys carried away among the Illyrian hostages: and it is certain that the more pains there are used to conceal any circumstances, the more readily they are divulged, through the talkative disposition of people employed in the courts of kings. About this time, ambassadors came to the camp from Rhodes, with the same message which had excited so much resentment in the Roman senate. It was now heard by the council with much greater indignation than at Rome; some *even advised* that they should be instantly driven out of the camp; but the consul said, that he would give them an answer in fifteen days. But still, to show how little regard was paid to the mediation of the Rhodians, he began to consult on the plan of his future operations. Some, particularly the younger officers, advised to force their way across the Enipeus, and through the enemy's works. "When they should advance in close order and make an assault, the Macedonians," they said, "would never be able to withstand them. They had been, last year, beaten out of many fortresses much higher and better fortified, and furnished with much stronger garrisons." Others recommended, that Octavius, with the fleet, should sail to Thessalonica; and, by committing depredations on the sea-coast, make it necessary for the King to divide his forces;

so that, when, on the appearance of another enemy behind him, he should turn about to protect the interior part of the kingdom, he would be forced to leave a passage over the Enipeus open in some place or other. The consul himself was of opinion, that the nature of the bank, and the works erected on it, presented insuperable difficulties; and, besides its being every where furnished with engines, he had been informed, that the enemy were remarkable for using missile weapons with uncommon skill, and that their aim was almost certain. The consul's judgment leaned quite another way; as soon, therefore, as the council broke up, he sent for Schœnus and Menophilus, Perrhæbian merchants, whom he knew to be men of probity and good sense, and examined them in private about the nature of the passes leading into Perrhæbia. They told him, that the places themselves were not difficult; but that they were occupied by parties of the King's troops; from which he conceived hopes of being able to beat off those parties, by making a sudden attack with a strong force in the night, when they were off their guard. For he considered that "javelins, and arrows, and other missile weapons, were useless at such a season; since, when combatants closed together in a throng, the business must depend on the sword, in the exercise of which the Romans had a decided superiority." He resolved to employ those two men as guides; and, sending for the prætor Octavius, explained to him what he intended, ordering him to sail directly with the fleet to Heracleus, and to have in readiness there, ten days' provisions for one thousand men. He then sent Publius Scipio Nasica, and Quintus Fabius Maximus, his own son, with five thousand chosen men, to Heracleus, as if they were to embark in the fleet, to ravage the coast of the interior parts of Macedonia, as had been proposed in the council. He told them, in private, that there were provisions prepared for them on board, so that they should have no delay. He then

ordered the guides to divide the road in such a manner, that they might attack Pythium at the fourth watch on the third day. He himself, on the day following, in order to confine the King's attention from the view of distant matters, attacked his advanced guards in the middle of the channel of the river, where the fight was maintained by the light infantry on both sides, for the bottom was so uneven, that heavy arms could not be used. The slope of each bank was three hundred paces long, and the breadth of the channel, which was of various depths, somewhat more than a mile. In this middle space the fight was carried on, while the King on one side, and the consul, with his legions on the other, stood spectators on the ramparts of their camps. At a distance, the King's troops had the advantage in fighting with missile weapons; but in close fight the Roman soldier was more steady, and was better defended, either with a target or a Ligurian buckler. About noon, the consul ordered the signal of retreat to be given, and thus the battle ended for that day, after considerable numbers had fallen on both sides. Next morning at sunrise, the fight was renewed with greater fury, as their passions had been irritated by the former contest; but the Romans were dreadfully annoyed, not only by those with whom they were immediately engaged; but much more by the multitudes that stood posted in the towers, with missiles of every sort, particularly stones; so that whenever they advanced towards the enemy's bank, the weapons thrown from the engines reached even the hindmost of their men. The consul's loss on this occasion was much greater than before; and, somewhat later in the day, he called off his men from the fight. On the third day he declined fighting, and moved down to the lowest side of the camp, as if intending to attempt a passage through an intrenchment which stretched down to the sea.

XXXVI. Perseus, *who did not extend his cares beyond* the objects that lay before his eyes, *bent all his thoughts and exertions to stop the progress of the enemy in the quarter where he lay. In the mean time, Publius Nasica, with the detachment under his command, punctually executed the consul's orders. Arriving at the appointed hour at Pythium, he soon dislodged the guard, which was commanded by Milo, Histiæus, and Theogenes, and pursued them down into the plains. This event threw Perseus into the greatest perplexity, for as the road was now open, he had reason to fear being surrounded. After long deliberation, he determined to give battle; and, drawing back to Pydna, chose a very advantageous position, and made the most prudent dispositions for ensuring success. Æmilius, being rejoined by the party under Nasica, marched directly against the enemy; and, on coming within sight, was not a little surprised at the formidable appearance of their army, in respect of their numbers, and the strength of the men, as well as the judicious order in which it was formed. The season of the year* was a little after the summer solstice; the time of the day was approaching towards noon; and his march had been incommoded by great quantities of dust, and the increasing heat of the sun. Lassitude and thirst were already felt, and both would certainly be aggravated by midday coming on. He resolved, therefore, not to expose his men in that condition to an enemy, fresh and in full vigour; but so great was the ardour for battle on both sides, that the general had occasion for as much art to elude the wishes of his own men, as those of the enemy. He urged the tribunes to hasten the forming of the troops, went himself round the ranks, and with exhortations inflamed their courage. At first, they called to him for the signal, briskly; but afterwards, as the heat increased, their looks became less lively, and their voices fainter, while many stood resting on their shields, or leaning on their javelins. He then, without farther disguise,

ordered the foremost ranks to measure out the front of a camp, and store the baggage; on seeing which, the soldiers openly showed themselves rejoiced at not having been compelled to fight, when they were wearied with marching, and with the scorching heat. Immediately about the general, were the lieutenants-general, and the commanders of the foreign troops; among others Attalus, who when they thought that the consul intended to fight, (for even to them he did not disclose his intention of delaying,) had all approved the measure. On this sudden alteration of his plan, while all the rest were silent, Nasica alone ventured to advise the consul, not to let slip from his hands, by shunning a battle, an enemy, who had baffled former commanders in the same way. "There was reason to fear," he said, "that he would march off in the night; and then he must be pursued with extreme toil and danger, into the heart of Macedonia; and the troops must be led about, as under former generals, wandering through the glens and forests of the Macedonian mountains. He therefore earnestly recommended to attack the enemy while he had him in an open plain, and not to lose so fair an opportunity, of obtaining a victory, as now presented itself." The consul, not in the least offended at the liberty, taken by a youth of his distinguished character, in offering his advice, answered: "Nasica, I once thought as you do now; hereafter you will come to think as I do. By long experience in war, I have learned when it is proper to fight, when to abstain from fighting. It would not be right in me, at present, standing at the head of the troops, to explain to you the causes that render it better to rest to-day. Ask my reasons some other time. At present you will acquiesce in the judgment of an old commander." The youth was silent, concluding that the consul certainly saw some objections to fighting, which did not appear to him.

XXXVII. Paullus, as soon as he saw the camp marked out, and the baggage laid up, drew off, first, the veterans from the rear line, then the first-rank men, while the spearmen stood in the front, lest the enemy might make any attempt; and lastly, the spear-men, beginning at the right wing, and leading them away, gradually, by single companies. Thus were the infantry drawn off without tumult; and, in the mean time, the cavalry and light infantry faced the enemy; nor were the cavalry recalled from their station, until the rampart and trench were finished. The King, though he was disposed to have given battle that day, was yet satisfied; since his men knew, that the delay was owing to the enemy; and he led back his troops to their station. When the fortifications of the Roman camp were finished, Caius Sulpicius Gallus, a military tribune of the second legion, who had been prætor the year before, with the consul's permission collected the soldiers in assembly, and gave them notice, lest they should any of them consider the matter as a prodigy, that, "on the following night, the moon would be eclipsed, from the second hour to the fourth." He mentioned that, "as this happened in the course of nature, at stated times, it could be known, and foretold. As, therefore, they did not wonder at the regular rising and setting of the sun and moon, or at the moon's sometimes shining with a full orb, and sometimes in its wane, showing only small horns, so neither ought they to construe as a portent, its being obscured, when covered with the shadow of the earth." On the night preceding the day before the nones of September, at the hour mentioned, the eclipse took place. The Roman soldiers thought the wisdom of Gallus almost divine; but the Macedonians were shocked, as at a dismal prodigy, foreboding the fall of their kingdom and the ruin of their nation; nor did their soothsayers explain it otherwise. Their camp was filled with shouting and yelling, until the moon, emerging, sent forth its light. Both

armies had been so eager for an engagement, that, next day, both the King and the consul were censured by many of their respective men for having separated without a battle. The King could readily excuse himself, not only as the enemy had led back his troops into camp; but, also, as he had posted his men on ground of such a nature, that the phalanx (which even a small inequality of surface renders useless) could not advance on it. The consul, besides, appearing to have neglected an opportunity of fighting, and to have given the enemy room to go off in the night, if he were so inclined, was thought to waste time at the present, under pretence of offering sacrifice, though the signal had been displayed, at the first light, for going out to the field. At last, about the third hour, the sacrifices being duly performed, he summoned a council, and there, too, he was deemed by several to spin out in talking, and unseasonable consultation, the time that ought to be employed in action; but, after many discourses of this sort had passed, the consul addressed them in a speech of the following purport.

XXXVIII. "Publius Nasica, a youth of uncommon merit, was the only one of those who were for immediate fight, that disclosed his sentiments to me; and even he was afterwards silent, appearing to have come over to my opinion. Some others have thought proper, rather to cavil at their general's conduct in his absence, than to offer advice in his presence. Now I shall, without the least reluctance, make known to you, Publius Nasica, and to any who, with less openness, entertained the same opinion with you, my reasons for deferring an engagement. For, so far am I from being sorry for having rested yesterday, that I am convinced that by that means I preserved the army. Whoever now thinks otherwise, let him come forward, if he pleases, and take with me a review of the numerous advantages that were on the enemy's side, and the disadvantages on ours. In the first place, how far

they surpass us in numbers, I am sure not one of you was at any time ignorant; and yesterday you had ocular demonstration, when their line was drawn out. Of our small force, a fourth part had been left to guard the baggage; and you know that they are not the worst of the soldiers who are left on that duty. But can we believe it a matter of little moment, that, with the blessing of the gods, we shall this day, if judged proper, or to-morrow at farthest, march to battle out of this our own camp, where we have lodged last night? Is there no difference, whether you order a soldier to take arms in his own tent, when he has not suffered any fatigue, either from a long march or laborious work; after he has enjoyed his natural rest, and is fresh; so as to lead him into the field vigorous both in body and mind; or whether, when he is wearied by such a march, or fatigued with carrying a load; while he is wet with sweat, and while his throat is parched with thirst, and his mouth and eyes filled with dust, you expose him, under a scorching noon-day sun, to an enemy who has had full repose, and who brings into the battle his strength unimpaired by any previous cause? Is there any (I appeal to the gods) so dastardly, that, if matched in this manner, he would not overcome the bravest man? We must consider, that the enemy had, quite at their leisure, formed their line of battle; had recruited their spirits, and were standing in regular order; whereas we must have formed our line in hurry and confusion, and have engaged before the proper dispositions were completed.

XXXIX. "But, to drop the consideration of the unavoidable irregularity and disorder of our line, should we have had a camp fortified, a watering-place provided, and the passage to it secured by troops, with a thorough knowledge of all the country round; or should we have been without any one spot of our own, except the naked field on which we fought? Your fathers considered a fortified camp as a har-

bour of safety, in all emergencies; out of which they were to march to battle, and in which, after being tossed in the storm of the fight, they had a safe retreat. For that reason, besides inclosing it with works, they strengthened it farther with a numerous guard; for any general who lost his camp, though he should have been victorious in the field, yet was deemed vanquished. A camp is a residence for the victorious, a refuge for the conquered. How many armies, after being worsted in the field, and driven within their ramparts, have, at their own time, and sometimes the next moment, sallied out and defeated their victors? This military settlement is another native country to the soldier: the rampart is as the wall of his city, and his own tent his habitation and his home. Should we have fought, while in that unsettled state, and without quarters prepared; to what place, in case of being beaten, were we to retire? In opposition to these considerations of the difficulties and impediments to the fighting at that time, one argument is urged. What, if the enemy had marched off in the course of last night? What immense fatigue, it is observed, must have been undergone in pursuing him to the remotest parts of Macedonia? But, for my part, I take it as a certainty, that if he had had any intention of retreating, he would neither have waited, nor drawn out his troops to battle. For, how much easier could he have gone off, while we were at a great distance, than now, when we are close at his back? Nor could he go unobserved either by day or by night. What could be more desirable to us, who were obliged to attack their camp, defended as it was by a very high bank of a river, and inclosed likewise with a rampart and a number of towers, than that they should quit their fortifications, and, marching off with haste, give us an opportunity of attacking their rear in an open plain? These were my reasons for deferring a battle from yesterday to this day. For I am myself as much inclined to fight as any;

and for that reason, as the way to come at the enemy over the river Enipeus was stopped, I have opened a new way, by dislodging the enemy's guards from another pass. Nor will I rest until the war is ended."

XL. When he ceased speaking, all remained silent; for some were convinced by his arguments, and the rest were unwilling to find any fault with the proceeding, since any advantage then overlooked could not now be regained. Even on that day, neither the King nor the consul was desirous of engaging; not the King, because he had not the same prospect as the day before, of fighting men who were fatigued after their march, were hurried in forming their line, and not completely marshalled; nor the consul, because, in his new camp, no collection was yet made of wood or forage, to bring which from the adjacent country a great number of his men had been sent from the camp. But, though it was not the wish of either of the commanders, fortune, whose power is not to be controlled by human schemes, brought about a battle. Somewhat nearer to the Macedonian than the Roman camp was a river, not very large, from which both parties supplied themselves with water; and that this might be done with safety, guards were stationed on each bank. On the Roman side were two cohorts, a Marucinian and a Pelignian, with two troops of Samnite horse, commanded by a lieutenant-general, Marcus Sergius Silus; and in the front of the camp there was posted another guard, under Caius Cluvius, lieutenant-general, composed of three cohorts, a Firmian, a Vestinian, and a Cremonian; besides two troops of horse, a Placentine and an Æsernian. While all was quiet at the river, neither party disturbing the other, about the fourth hour, a horse, breaking loose from those who had the care of him, ran off towards the farther bank, and three Roman soldiers followed him through the water, which reached as high as their knees. At the same time two Thracians endeavoured

to bring the horse from the middle of the channel to their own bank; but the Romans slew one of them, and, having recovered the animal, retired to their post. On the enemy's bank there was a body of eight hundred Thracians, of whom a few, at first enraged at their countryman being killed before their eyes, crossed the river in pursuit of his slayers; in a little time some more, and at last, all of them *passed over, and attacked the Roman guard on the other side. Reinforcements hastened to both parties, and the affair soon became so serious, that the commanders were obliged to risk a general engagement. In the army of the Macedonians there were two phalanxes; the men of one were called Leucaspides, those of the other Aglaspides, or Chalcaspides; there was also a body of targeteers, formed in the same manner, and carrying the same kind of long spears, but lighter armed in other respects. These three bodies withstood, for a long time, every effort of the Romans; the targeteers even compelled the Pelignian battalions to retire, which alarmed and provoked Æmilius to such a degree that he tore his robe. At length, observing that the compact order of the phalanx was not every where unbroken, the variation of the ground and of their motions necessarily causing some intervals in their ranks, he ordered his men to watch attentively, and wherever they could discern the least opening in the phalanx, to force themselves in, with all their might, and strive to divide it as much as possible. As soon as he had issued this order, he put himself at the head of one of the legions*, and led it on to battle.

XLI. The troops were deeply impressed with sentiments of respect, when they considered the high dignity of his office, his own personal renown, and, above all, his age; for, though more than sixty years old, he discharged every obligation of youth, taking on himself the principal share both of the labour and danger. His legion filled up the space between the targeteers and another phalanx, and thus disunited the

enemy's line. Behind him were the targeteers, and his front faced the shielded phalanx of Aglaspides. Lucius Albinus, a man of consular rank, was ordered to lead on the second legion against the phalanx of the Leucaspides, which formed the centre of the Macedonian line. On the right wing, where the fight began, at the river, the elephants were brought forward, with a cohort of allied cavalry; and these latter were the first who made any of the Macedonians turn their backs. For as new contrivances make an important figure in words, but on being put in practice ofttimes prove vain and ineffectual, so on that occasion the elephants in the line of battle were a mere name, without the least use. Their attack was followed by the Latine allies, who forced the enemy's left wing to give way. In the centre, the second legion dispersed the phalanx, nor was there any more evident cause of the victory that followed, than there being many distinct fights, which first disordered that body, by throwing it into irregular motions, and at last quite broke it. For, while it preserves its compact order, and presents a front bristled with extended spears, its strength is irresistible; but if, by separate attacks on various parts of it, the men are once forced to turn about their spears, which, on account of their length and weight, are too unwieldy to be easily moved, they are embarrassed; and, if they are alarmed by any assault on the flank or rear, fall into irretrievable disorder. This was the case now, when they were obliged to oppose the Romans, who, in small parties, and with their line broken into numerous divisions, assailed them in many places at once; and, when any opening was made, worked themselves into the vacant spaces. But had they advanced with their entire line, straight against the phalanx, when in its regular order, the fate of the Pelignians would have been theirs, who, in the beginning of the battle, incautiously engaged the targeteers; being run through by the spears, and unable to withstand such a firm body.

XLII. But though the Macedonian infantry were cut to pieces on all sides, except those who threw away their arms and fled, the cavalry quitted the field with scarcely any loss. The King himself was the first in flight. With the sacred squadrons of horse he took the road to Pella, and was quickly followed by Cotys and the Odrysian cavalry. The rest of the cavalry, likewise, went off with full ranks; because, as the line of infantry stood in the way, the enemy remained to put them to the sword, and did not think of pursuing the others. For a long time, the men of the phalanx were cut off, in front, on the flanks, and on the rear; at last, such as could avoid the enemy's hands, fled unarmed towards the sea; some even ran into the water, and, stretching out their hands to those on board the fleet, humbly begged their lives. Boats coming from all the ships, they supposed that it was meant to take them in; whereupon, advancing farther into the water, so that some of them even swam, they supplicated aid. But they soon found themselves treated as enemies by the boats; on which such as were able regained the land, where they met their death in a more dreadful way; for the elephants, which their riders had driven down to the shore, trod them under foot, and crushed them in pieces. It was generally acknowledged, that the Macedonians never lost so great a number of men in any battle; for their killed amounted to twenty thousand; six thousand, who made their escape from the field to Pydna, fell alive into the hands of the Romans, and five thousand were taken straggling through the country. Of the victorious army there fell not more than one hundred; the greater part of whom were Pelignians; but a much greater number were wounded. If the battle had been begun earlier, so that the conquerors might have had daylight enough for a pursuit, all the troops of the vanquished must have been utterly destroyed. As it happened, the approach

of night both screened the fugitives, and made the Romans unwilling to follow them through an unknown country.

XLIII. Perseus, in his flight as far as the Pierian wood, kept up a military appearance, being attended by a numerous body of horse, together with his royal retinue; but, when he came into the thicket, and when darkness came on, he turned out of the main path, with a very few, in whom he placed the greatest confidence. The horsemen, abandoned by their leader, dispersed, and returned to their respective homes; some of whom made their way to Pella, quicker than Perseus himself, because they went by the straight and open road. The King, embarrassed by his fears, and the many difficulties which he met with on the way, did not arrive till near midnight. He was met at the palace by Euctus, governor of Pella, and the royal pages; but of all his friends, who had escaped from the battle by various chances, not one would come near him, though they were repeatedly sent for. Only three persons accompanied him in his flight; Evander, a Cretan; Neon, a Bœotian; and Archidamus, an Ætolian. With these he continued his retreat, at the fourth watch; for he began to fear, lest those who had refused to obey his summons, might, presently, attempt something more audacious. He had an escort of about five hundred Cretans. He took the road to Amphipolis; leaving Pella in the night, and hastening to get over the river Axius before day, as he thought that the difficulty in passing it would deter the Romans from farther pursuit.

XLIV. The consul returned victorious to his camp; but his joy was much allayed by concern for his younger son. This was Publius Scipio, who afterwards acquired the title of Africanus by the destruction of Carthage; he was, by birth, the son of the consul Paullus, and, by adoption, the grandson of the elder Africanus. He was then only in the seventeenth year of his age, which circumstance heightened

his father's anxiety; for, pursuing the enemy with eagerness, he had been carried away by the crowd to a distant part. He returned late in the evening, however; and then, the consul having received him in safety, felt unmixed joy for the very important victory. When the news of the battle reached Amphipolis, the matrons ran together to the temple of Diana, whom they style Tauropolos, to implore her aid. Diodorus, who was governor of the city, fearing lest the Thracians, of whom there were two thousand in garrison, might, during the confusion, plunder the city, contrived to receive in the middle of the Forum a letter, from the hands of a person whom he had employed for the purpose, and instructed to personate a courier. The contents of it were, that "the Romans had put in their fleet at Emathia, and were ravaging the territory round; and that the governors of Emathia besought him to send a reinforcement, which might enable them to repel the ravagers." After reading this, he desired the Thracians to march to the relief of the coast, telling them, as an encouragement, that the Romans being dispersed through the country, they might easily kill many of them, and gain a large booty. He affected not to believe the report of the defeat, alleging that, if it were true, many would have come from the place of action. Having, on this pretence, sent the Thracians out of the town, he no sooner saw them pass the river Strymon, than he shut the gates.

XLV. On the third day after the battle, Perseus arrived at Amphipolis, and sent thence to Paullus suppliant ambassadors, with the wand of peace. In the mean time, Hippias, Milo, and Pantauchus, whom the King esteemed his best friends, went themselves to the consul, and surrendered to the Romans the city of Berœa, to which they had fled after the battle; and several other cities, struck with fear, prepared to follow the example. The consul dispatched to Rome, with letters and the news of his victory, his son

Quintus Fabius, Lucius Lentulus, and Quintus Metellus. He gave to his infantry the spoils of the enemy who were slain, and to his cavalry, the plunder of the circumjacent country, provided, however, that they did not stay out of the camp longer than two nights. He then removed towards Pydna. Berœa, Thessalonica, and Pella, and indeed almost every city in Macedonia, successively surrendered within two days. From Pydna, which was the nearest, no deputation had yet been sent; the confused multitude, made up of many different nations, with the numbers who had been obliged to fly thither from the field, put it out of the power of the inhabitants to form or unite in any design; the gates, too, were not only shut, but closed up with walls. Milo and Pantauchus were sent to confer, under the wall, with Solon, who commanded in the place. By his means the crowd of military people were sent away, the town was surrendered, and given up to the soldiers to be plundered. Perseus, after making a single effort to procure assistance, by sending an embassy to the Bisaltians, but without effect, came forth into a general assembly, bringing with him his son Philip, in order to encourage the Amphipolitans themselves, and to raise the spirits of those horse and foot soldiers who had either constantly accompanied him, or had happened to fly to the same place. But, though he made several attempts to speak, he was always stopped by his tears; so that, finding himself unable to proceed, he told Evander, the Cretan, what he wished to have laid before the people, and came down from the tribunal. Although the multitude, on seeing the King in so melancholy a situation, and observing him weep in that affecting manner, had joined their plaints with his, yet they refused to listen to the discourse of Evander; and some, from the middle of the assembly, had the assurance to interrupt him, exclaiming, "Depart to some other place; that the few of us, who are left alive, may not be destroyed on

your account." Their daring opposition stopped Evander's mouth. The King retired to his palace; and, causing his treasures to be put on board some barks which lay in the Strymon, went down himself to the river. The Thracians would not venture to trust themselves on board, but went off to their own homes, as did the rest of the soldiers; the Cretans only following the money, in hopes of a share: but, as any distribution of it among them would probably raise more discontent than gratitude, fifty talents* were laid on the bank, for them to seize as each might be able. After this scramble, they went on board; yet in such hurry and disorder, that they sunk one of the barks in the mouth of the river by the weight of the numbers which crowded into it. They arrived that day at Galepsus, and the next at Samothrace, to which they were bound. Thither, it is said, the king carried with him two thousand talents.†

XLVI. Paullus sent officers to hold the government of the several cities which had surrendered; lest, at a time when peace was but newly restored, the conquered might suffer any ill treatment. He detained the ambassadors of Perseus; and, as he had not yet been informed of his flight, detached Publius Nasica, with a small party of horse and foot, to Amphipolis, both that he might lay waste the country of Sintice, and be ready to obstruct every effort of the King. In the mean time, Melibœa was taken and sacked by Cneius Octavius. At Æginium, which Cneius Anicius, a lieutenant-general, had been ordered to attack, two hundred men were lost by a sally made from the town; for it was not known that the war was at an end. The consul, quitting Pydna, arrived, with his whole army, on the second day at Pella; and, pitching his camp at the distance of a mile from it, remained in that station for several days. These he employed in taking

* 9,687l. 10s. † 387,480l.

a full view of the situation of the city; and he perceived that it was chosen to be the capital of the kingdom, not without good reason. It stands on a hill which faces the south-west, and is surrounded by morasses, formed by stagnant waters from the adjacent lakes, so deep as to be impassable either in winter or summer. In the part of the morass nearest to the city the citadel rises up like an island, being built on a mound of earth formed with immense labour, so as to be capable of supporting the wall, and secure against any injury from the surrounding moisture. At a distance it seems to join the city rampart, but is divided from it by a river, and which has a bridge over it; so that if the King chooses to confine any person within it, there is no way for an escape except by that bridge, which can be guarded with great ease. This was the depository of the royal treasure; but, at that time, there was nothing found there but the three hundred talents which had been sent to King Gentius, and afterwards brought back. While the consul halted at Pella, he gave audience to a great number of embassies, which came with congratulations, especially out of Thessaly. Then, receiving intelligence that Perseus had passed over to Samothrace, he left Pella, and after four days' march, arrived at Amphipolis. Here the whole multitude poured out of the town to meet him; a plain demonstration that the people considered themselves not as *bereft of a good and just king, but as delivered from a haughty overbearing tyrant. The consul, after a short delay, proceeded, in pursuit of Perseus, into the province of Odomantice, and encamped at Siræ.*

THE

HISTORY OF ROME.

BOOK XLV.

Perseus taken prisoner in Samothrace, by Æmilius Paullus. Antiochus, on the peremptory requisition of the Roman ambassadors, ceases hostilities against Ægypt. The Rhodians apologize for their conduct during the war; their apologies not deemed satisfactory. Macedonia reduced to the form of a province. Prusias comes to Rome with congratulations, on occasion of the conquest of Macedonia. Recommends his son, Nicomedes, to the protection of the senate; his mean and despicable behaviour.

I. NOTWITHSTANDING that Quintus Fabius, Lucius Lentulus, and Quintus Metellus, who were sent with the news of the victory, made all possible haste to Rome, yet they found rejoicings for that event anticipated there. The fourth day after the discomfiture of Perseus, and while games were exhibiting in the Circus, a faint rumour spread itself, suddenly, among the people through all the seats, "that a battle had been fought in Macedonia, and that the King was entirely defeated." The rumour gathered strength, until at last they shouted and clapped their hands, as if the same had been confirmed to

Y.R.584. B.C.168.

them. The magistrates, being surprised, caused enquiry to be made for the author of the account which occasioned this sudden rejoicing? but, none being found, the joy of course vanished. Although the matter was uncertain, yet the flattering belief still remained impressed on their minds; and when, on the arrival of Fabius, Lentulus, and Metellus, the fact was established by authentic information, they rejoiced on a twofold account,—on that of the victory, and their happy presage of it. This exultation in the Circus is related in another manner, with equal appearance of probability: that, on the tenth day before the calends of October, being the second day of the Roman games, as the consul Licinius was going down to give the signal for the race, a courier, who said he came from Macedonia, delivered to him a letter, decorated with laurel. As soon as he had started the chariots, he mounted his own, and, as he rode back to the seats of the magistrates, showed to the people the embellished tablets, at the sight of which, the multitude, regardless of the games, ran down at once into the middle of the area. The consul held a meeting of the senate on the spot: and, after reading the letter to them by their direction, he told the people, from the seats of the magistrates, that "his colleague Lucius Æmilius had fought a general engagement with Perseus; that the Macedonian army was totally defeated; that the King had fled with few attendants; and that all the cities of Macedonia had submitted to the Romans." On hearing this, they testified their joy by an universal shouting and clapping of hands; and most of them, leaving the sport, hastened home to communicate the joyful tidings to their wives and children. This was the thirteenth day after the battle.

II. On the following day the senate voted a general supplication, and ordered, that the consul should disband all his troops, excepting the regulars and seamen; and that the disbandment should be taken into consideration as soon as the

deputies from the consul Æmilius, who had sent forward the courier, should arrive in town. On the sixth day before the calends of October, about the second hour, the deputies came into the city, and proceeded directly to the tribunal in the Forum, drawing an immense crowd, who went forth to meet and escort them. The senate happened to be then sitting, and the consul introduced the deputies to them. They were detained there no longer than to give an account, "how very numerous the King's forces of horse and foot had been; how many thousands of them were killed, how many taken; with what a small loss of men the Romans had made such havoc of the enemy, and with how poor an attendance Perseus had fled; that it was supposed he would go to Samothrace, and that the fleet was ready to pursue him; so that he could not escape, either by sea or land." They were then brought out into the assembly of the people, where they repeated the same particulars, and renewed the general joy in such a degree, that no sooner had the consul published an order, that all the places of worship should be opened, and that they should proceed directly to return thanks to the immortal gods, than every temple in the city was filled with vast crowds, not only of men but of women. The senate, being re-assembled, ordered thanksgivings in all the temples, during five days, for the glorious successes obtained by the consul Lucius Æmilius, with sacrifices of the larger kinds of victims. They also voted, that the ships, which lay in the Tiber fit for sea, and ready to sail for Macedonia, in case the King had been able to maintain the dispute, should be hauled up, and placed in the docks, and the seamen belonging to them paid a year's wages, and discharged; and, together with these, all who had taken the military oath to the consul; that all the soldiers in Corcyra and Brundusium, on the coast of the upper sea, and in the territory of Larinum, should be disbanded; for in all these places had troops been cantoned, in order that the con-

sul Licinius might, if occasion required, take them over to reinforce his colleague. The thanksgiving was fixed, by proclamation in the assembly, for the fifth day before the ides of October.

III. Two deputies, Caius Licinius Nerva and Publius Decius, likewise arrived at this time, who brought intelligence that the army of the Illyrians was defeated, their King Gentius taken prisoner, and all Illyria reduced under the dominion of the Roman people. On account of these services, under the conduct and auspices of the prætor Lucius Anicius, the senate voted a supplication of three days' continuance, and it was accordingly appointed, by proclamation, to be performed on the fourth, third, and second days of the ides of November. Some writers tell us, that the Rhodian ambassadors had not yet been admitted to an audience; and that, when the news of the victory was received, they were called before the senate in order to expose their absurdity and arrogance. On this occasion, Agesipolis, their principal, spoke to this effect: that "they had been sent by the Rhodians, with a commission, to effect an accommodation between the Romans and Perseus; the war then subsisting being injurious and burdensome to all Greece, and expensive and detrimental to the Romans themselves; but that the kindness of fortune, terminating the war after another manner, had afforded them an opportunity of congratulating the Romans on a glorious victory." To this discourse of the Rhodians, the senate returned the following answer; that "the Rhodians, in sending that embassy, had not been actuated by concern either for the interests of Greece, or for the expenses of the Roman people, but merely by their wishes to serve Perseus. For, if their concern had been such as they pretended, the time for sending ambassadors would have been, when that monarch, leading an army into Thessaly, had continued, for two years, to besiege some of the cities of Greece, and to terrify

others with denunciations of vengeance. All this time not the least mention of peace was made by the Rhodians; but when they heard that the Romans had passed the defiles, and penetrated into Macedonia, and that Perseus was held inclosed by them; then they sent an embassy, from no other motive whatever, but a wish to rescue Perseus from the impending danger." With this answer the ambassadors were dismissed.

IV. About the same time Marcus Marcellus, coming home from Spain, where he had taken Marcolica, a city of note, brought into the treasury ten pounds weight of gold, and a quantity of silver, amounting to a million of sesterces.* While the consul Paullus Æmilius lay encamped at Sirræ, in Odomantice, as mentioned above, a letter from King Perseus was brought to him by three ambassadors of mean appearance, the sight of whom, as we are told, excited in his mind such reflections on the instability of human affairs, as caused him to shed tears; that a prince, who, a short time before, not content with the kingdom of Macedonia, had invaded Dardania and Illyria, and had called out to his aid the whole Bastarnian nation, should now, after having lost his army, be expelled his kingdom, and forced to take refuge in a little island, where, as a suppliant, he was protected by the sanctity of the place, not by any strength of his own, occasioned him something like pain: but when he read the address, "King Perseus to the consul Paullus, greeting," the seeming insensibility of his condition did away all compassion; so that, notwithstanding the letter consisted of entreaties couched in terms ill suited to royalty, yet the embassy was dismissed without any answer. Perseus, perceiving that it was expected he should, in his vanquished state, forget his pompous titles, sent another letter, inscribed

* 8,072l. 18s. 4d.

simply with his name, in which he made a request, which was readily complied with, that some persons should be sent to him, with whom he might confer on the present condition of his affairs. Three ambassadors were accordingly dispatched, Publius Lentulus, Aulus Postumius Albinus, and Aulus Antonius; but their embassy effected nothing. For Perseus struggled with all his might to retain the regal title, while Paullus insisted on an absolute submission of himself, and every thing belonging to him, to the honour and clemency of the Roman people.

V. In the mean time, Cneius Octavius, with his fleet, put in at Samothrace; and presenting immediate danger to Perseus's view, he endeavoured, at one time by menaces, at another by hopes, to prevail on him to surrender. In this design, he was greatly assisted by an occurrence, which it is uncertain whether it were accidental or designed. Lucius Atilius, a young man of good character, observing that the people of Samothrace were met in a general assembly, asked permission of the magistrate to address a few words to them; which being granted, he said,—"People of Samothrace, our good hosts; is the account which we have heard true or false, that this island is sacred, and the country holy and inviolable?" They all agreed in asserting the supposed sanctity of the place; whereupon he proceeded thus: "Why, then, has a murderer, stained with the blood of King Eumenes, presumed to profane it? And though, previous to every sacrifice, a proclamation forbids all who have not pure hands to assist at the sacred rites, will you, nevertheless, suffer your holy places to be polluted by the approach of an assassin?" The story of King Eumenes having been nearly murdered by Evander at Delphi, was now well known through all the cities of Greece. The Samothracians, therefore, besides the consideration of their being themselves, as well as the temple and the whole island, in the power of the

Romans, were convinced, that the censure thrown on them was not understood; they, therefore, sent Theondas, their chief magistrate, whom they style King, to Perseus, to acquaint him, that "Evander the Cretan was accused of murder; that they had a mode of trial established among them, by the practice of their ancestors, concerning such as were charged with bringing impure hands into the consecrated precincts of the temple. If Evander was confident, that he was innocent of the capital charge made against him, let him come forth, and stand a trial; but, if he would not venture to undergo an inquiry, let him free the temple from profanation, and take care of himself, as well as he could." Perseus, calling out Evander, told him, that he would by no means advise him to stand a trial, because he was no match for his accusers, either in the merits of the cause, or in influence. He had secret apprehensions, that Evander, on being condemned, would expose him, as the instigator of that abominable act. What then remained, he said, but to die bravely? Evander made, openly, no objection; but, telling the King that he chose to die by poison rather than by the sword, took measures in secret for effecting his escape. When this was told to the King, he was alarmed, lest the anger of the Samothracians should be turned against himself, as accessary to the escape of a guilty person, and he ordered Evander to be put to death. No sooner was this rash murder perpetrated, than his mind was immediately stung with remorse. He considered that "he had now drawn on himself the whole of the guilt, which before had affected Evander only; that the latter had wounded Eumenes at Delphi, and he had slain Evander in Samothrace; and thus the two most venerable sanctuaries in the world had, through his means alone, been defiled with human blood." He contrived, however, to avoid the imputation of this deed, by bribing Theondas, to

tell the people, that Evander had laid violent hands on himself.

VI. But such an atrocious act, committed on his only remaining friend, on one whose fidelity he had experienced on so many trying occasions, and who, in return for not proving a traitor, was himself betrayed, disgusted every one. A general defection and going over to the Romans ensued, so that he was left almost alone, and obliged, in that condition, to meditate the means of escaping. He applied to a Cretan, called Oroandes, who was acquainted with the coast of Thrace, having carried on traffic in that country, to take him on board his vessel and convey him to Cotys. At one of the promontories of Samothrace is a harbour called Demetrium; there the vessel lay. About sunset, every thing necessary for the voyage was carried thither, together with as much money as could be transported with secrecy; and at midnight the King himself, with three persons, who were privy to his flight, going out through a back door into a garden near his chamber, and having with much difficulty climbed over the wall, went down to the shore. Oroandes had set sail, at the first dusk, as soon as the money arrived, and was now steering for Crete. Perseus, not finding the ship in the harbour, wandered about for a long time on the coast; but, at last, fearing the approach of day, and not daring to return to his lodging, he hid himself in a dark corner at one side of the temple. Among the Macedonians, there was a band of boys of the highest birth, chosen out to wait on the King, and called the royal pages: this band had accompanied Perseus in his flight, and did not even now desert him, until Cneius Octavius ordered a herald to proclaim, that, "if the royal pages and other Macedonians, then in Samothrace, would come over to the Romans, they should have impunity, liberty, and all their property, both what they had in the island, and what they had left in Macedonia." On this notice they came over, and made

a formal surrender before Caius Postumius, a military tribune. The King's younger children also were delivered up to Cneius Octavius, by Io of Thessalonica; nor was any one, now, left with Perseus, except Philip his eldest son. Then, after uttering many execrations against fortune, and the gods to whom the temple belonged, for not affording aid to a suppliant, he surrendered himself, and his son, to Octavius. He was put on board the prætor's ship, and, with him, all his remaining money; and the fleet immediately returned to Amphipolis. From thence Octavius sent the King into the camp to the consul, having previously informed him by letter, that he was a prisoner, and on the road thither.

VII. Paullus, justly considering this as a second victory, offered sacrifices on the occasion; then, calling a council, and reading to them the prætor's letter, he sent Quintus Ælius Tubero, to meet and escort the King; the rest he desired to remain assembled in the prætorium. Never, on any other occasion, did so great a multitude gather about a spectacle. In the time of their fathers, King Syphax had been made prisoner, and brought into the Roman camp; but, besides that he could not be compared with Perseus, either in respect of his own reputation, or that of his country, he was at the time a subordinate party in the Carthaginian war, as Gentius was in the Macedonian. Whereas Perseus was the principal in this war: and was not only highly conspicuous through his own personal renown, and that of his father, grandfather, and other relations in blood and extraction, but of these, two shone with unparalleled lustre,—Philip, and Alexander the Great; who acquired to the Macedonians sovereign dominion over the whole world. Perseus came into the camp, dressed in mourning, unattended by any of his countrymen, except his own son, whose being a sharer in the calamity added to the wretchedness of his situation. The crowd, which had collected to get a sight of him, prevented his ad-

vancing, until the consul sent his lictors, who cleared the way and opened a passage to the prætorium. At his coming, the consul arose, but ordered the rest to keep their seats, and, advancing a little, held out his right hand to the King at the entrance; when Perseus offered to fall at his feet, he held him up, nor would he suffer him to embrace his knees, but led him into the tent, and desired him to sit on the side opposite to the officers, assembled in council.

VIII. He began by asking, "what injuries had obliged him to enter into a war against the Roman people with such violent animosity, and to bring himself and his kingdom to the extremity of danger." While all expected his answer, he kept his eyes fixed on the ground, and wept a long time in silence. The consul, again addressing him, said, "if you had acceded to the government in early youth, I should have less wondered at your not being sensible of the great importance of the friendship or enmity of the Roman people. But that was not the case, as you bore a part in the war which your father waged with us, and, afterwards, must have remembered the peace which we maintained towards him with the strictest sincerity. What motive, then, could induce you to prefer war to peace, with those, whose power in war, and whose good faith in peace, you had so fully experienced?" Neither questions nor reproaches could draw an answer from him: on which, the consul added; "Whatever cause may have produced these events, whether mistakes incident to humanity, or accident or necessity, suffer not your spirits to be dejected. The clemency of the Roman people, displayed in numerous instances towards kings and nations in distress, affords you not only hope, but almost perfect confidence of safety." This he said in the Greek language to Perseus; and then, turning to his own people, he said, in the Latine tongue; "Do you not observe this striking instance of the instability of human affairs? To you, young men, principal-

ly, I address the observation. In the hour of prosperity, therefore, we ought to harbour neither sentiments of arrogance nor of rancour; nor to confide implicitly in present advantages; since we know not what the evening may produce. He alone will deserve the character of a man, who suffers not his spirit to be elated by the favourable gales of fortune, nor to be broken by its adverse blasts." He then dismissed the council, and gave the charge of guarding the King to Quintus Ælius. Perseus was invited to dine that day with the consul, and received every mark of respect, which his present circumstances would admit.

IX. The troops were immediately sent off to their winter cantonments; the greater part were quartered in Amphipolis, and the rest in the towns in that neighbourhood. Thus ended the war between the Romans and Perseus, which had lasted, without intermission, four years; and thus ended a kingdom, long renowned through a great part of Europe, and throughout all Asia. From Caranus, their first king, they reckoned Perseus the fortieth. Perseus came to the crown, in the consulate of Quintus Fulvius and Lucius Manlius; received the title of king from the senate in that of Marcus Junius and Aulus Manlius, and reigned eleven years. The fame of the Macedonians was but obscure, until the reign of Philip, son of Amyntas; and though, in his time, and by his means, it began to increase, yet it was still confined within the limits of Europe, extending only to all Greece, with a part of Thrace, and Illyria. Afterwards, the force of Macedon poured down like a deluge on Asia; and it was in the course of the thirteen years of the reign of Alexander, that they reduced under their dominion that almost immense tract which had constituted the empire of the Persians, and then overspread the Arabias, and India, as far as where the Red Sea forms the utmost boundary of the earth. At that time, their empire was the greatest in the

world; but on the death of Alexander, it was torn asunder into a number of kingdoms, each of his successors struggling to grasp power to himself, and thereby dismembering the whole. From the time of its highest elevation to this its final downfall, it stood one hundred and fifty years.

X. When the news of the victory, obtained by the Romans, was carried into Asia, Antenor, who lay with a fleet of small vessels, at Phanæ, sailed over to Cassandrea. Caius Popillius, who staid at Delos to protect the ships bound to Macedonia, learning that the war there was at an end, and that the enemy's fleet had left its station, sent home the Athenian squadron, and proceeded on his voyage for Egypt, to finish the business of the embassy, with which he was charged; for he wished to meet Antiochus before he should approach the walls of Alexandria. When the ambassadors, sailing along the coast of Asia, arrived at Loryma, a port somewhat more than twenty miles from Rhodes, and just opposite to that city, they were met by some of the principal Rhodians,—(for the news of the victory had by this time reached them too,) who besought them to sail over to their city; for that it was of the utmost consequence to the character and well-being of the Roman state that they should, in person, inform themselves of what had been done, and what was then passing at Rhodes; so as to carry home intelligence, founded on their own knowledge, and not on vague reports." After refusing for a long time, they were at length prevailed on to submit to a short delay of their voyage, for the sake of the safety of an allied city. When they came to Rhodes, the same persons, by urgent entreaties, persuaded them to be present at a general assembly. The arrival of the ambassadors rather heightened, than allayed, the fears of the public. For Popillius enumerated all the hostile expressions and actions, both of the community, and of individuals, during the war; and, being naturally of an austere temper, he magnified the atro-

ciousness of the matters which he mentioned, by the sternness of his countenance, and the harshness of his tone of voice; so that, as he had no cause of personal quarrel with their state, people judged, from the austerity of one Roman senator, what was the disposition of the whole senate towards them. Caius Decimius spoke with more moderation; and, respecting most of the particulars mentioned by Popillius, he asserted that "the blame lay, not on the nation, but on a few incendiary ringleaders of the populace, who, employing their tongues for hire, procured the passing of several decrees, full of flattery towards the King; and had sent several embassies, which always excited, in the minds of the Rhodians, both shame and sorrow, all which proceedings, however, if the people were disposed to act properly, would fall on the heads of the guilty." His discourse gave great satisfaction; not only, because it extenuated the offences of the community, but because it threw the whole blame on the authors of their misconduct. When, therefore, their own magistrates spoke in answer to the Romans, the people were not so well pleased with those who endeavoured to exculpate them, in some measure, from the charges advanced by Popillius, as with those who advised to concur with the opinion of Decimius, and expiate their fault by the punishment of the chief offenders. A decree was therefore immediately passed, that all who should be convicted of having, in any instance, spoken or acted in favour of Perseus, against the Romans, should be condemned to die. Several of those concerned, had left the city on the arrival of the Romans; others put an end to their own lives. The ambassadors staid only five days at Rhodes, and then proceeded to Alexandria; but the trials instituted, pursuant to the decree passed in their presence, were still carried on at Rhodes, with the same activity; and this perseverance of the Rhodians, in the execu-

tion of that business, was entirely owing to the mild behaviour of Decimius.

XI. In the mean time, Antiochus, after a fruitless attempt against the walls of Alexandria, had retired; and being now master of all the rest of Egypt, he left, at Memphis, the elder Ptolemy, whose settlement on the throne was the pretended object of his armament, though, in reality, he meant to attack him, as soon as he should have vanquished his competitors; and, then, he led back his army into Syria. Ptolemy, who was not unapprised of this his intention, conceived hopes, that, while he held his younger brother under terror, and in dread of a siege, he might be able to manage matters so as to procure admittance into Alexandria, provided his sister favoured the design, and his brother's friends did not oppose it. Accordingly, he never ceased sending proposals to all these, until he effected an accommodation with them. His suspicions of Antiochus were corroborated by this circumstance, that, when he gave him possession of the rest of Egypt, he left a strong garrison in Pelusium: a plain proof that he kept that key of Egypt in his hands, in order that he might be able whenever he pleased, to introduce an army, again, into the country; and he foresaw, that the final issue of a civil war with his brother, must be, that the conqueror, thoroughly weakened by the contest, would be utterly unable to contend with Antiochus. In these prudent observations of the elder brother, the younger, and those about him, concurred; while their sister greatly promoted the negotiation, both by her advice and entreaties. A friendly intercourse, therefore, took place, to the satisfaction of all the parties, and the elder Ptolemy was received in Alexandria. Nor was this unpleasing, even to the populace; who, during the war, had been severely distressed by a general scarcity, not only in consequence of the siege, but, after the enemy had retired, by all communication with every part of Egypt, being shut

up. Although it was reasonable to suppose, that Antiochus would be rejoiced at these events, if he had really marched his army into Egypt, for the purpose of reinstating Ptolemy on the throne,—(the plausible pretext which he had professed to all the states of Asia and Greece, in his answers to their embassies, and in the letters that he wrote;) yet he was so highly offended, that he prepared to make war on the two brothers, with much greater acrimony and fury of resentment, than he had shown against the one. He instantly sent his fleet to Cyprus; and, as soon as the spring appeared, putting himself at the head of his army, he directed his route towards Egypt, and advanced into Cœlesyria. Near Rhinocolura, he was met by ambassadors from Ptolemy, who gave him thanks for the assistance, by means of which he had recovered the throne of his ancestors; and he requested him to secure to him the enjoyment of the benefit, which he had himself conferred; and rather to signify what he wished to be done, than from an ally to become an enemy, and proceed by force of arms. To this he answered, that "he would neither recall his fleet, nor stop the march of his army, on any other conditions, than that all Cyprus and the city of Pelusium, together with the lands adjoining the Pelusian mouth of the Nile, should be ceded to him;" and he even named a particular day, on or before which he expected to receive an answer, that these terms were complied with.

XII. When the time fixed for the suspension of hostilities, was elapsed, *Antiochus ordered the commanders of his fleet* to sail up the mouth of the Nile to Pelusium, while *he himself entered Egypt*, through the deserts of Arabia. *He was amicably received by the people* about Memphis, as he was, afterwards, by the rest of the Egyptians; some being led by inclination, others by fear; and he proceeded thus, by short marches, down to Alexandria. He had just crossed the river at Eleusine, four miles from that city, when he was met by

the Roman ambassadors. At their coming, he saluted them, and held out his right hand to Popillius; but Popillius putting into his hand a written tablet, desired him first to peruse that. On reading it, he said, that he would call his friends together, and consult what was to be done; on which Popillius, with that roughness which generally marked his character, drew a line round the King, with a wand which he held in his hand, and said, "Before you go out of that circle, give such an answer as I may report to the senate." Astonished at such a peremptory injunction, the King hesitated for some time; but, at last, replied, "I will do as the senate directs." Popillius then thought proper to stretch out his right hand to him; as to a friend and ally. Antiochus having retired out of Egypt, on a day prefixed, the ambassadors employed their influence in establishing concord among the royal family, on a more firm basis than it had yet acquired; and then sailed to Cyprus, from whence they sent home the ships of Antiochus, and which had fought and defeated an Egyptian fleet. This embassy attracted a great share of respect from all nations; having manifestly rescued Egypt out of the hands of the Syrian, when he had it within his grasp, and restored to the race of Ptolemy, the kingdom of their forefathers. While one of the consuls of this year distinguished his administration, by a glorious victory, the other acquired no new lustre to his reputation, no object presenting itself to call forth his abilities. When, in the beginning of his administration, he had appointed his troops to assemble, he entered the consecrated place, without due auspices; and the augurs, on the matter being laid before them, pronounced the appointment improper. Going into Gaul, he lay encamped near the long plains, at the foot of the mountains Sicimina and Papirus, passing the winter in the same country with the troops of the Latine allies. The Roman legions staid all the while in the city, because their assembling had been irregu-

larly ordered. The prætors went to their several provinces, except Caius Papirius Carbo, to whose lot Sardinia had fallen; the senate having commanded him to administer justice, at Rome, between natives and foreigners; a duty to which he had been already named.

XIII. When Popillius, with his colleagues in the embassy to Antiochus, returned to Rome, he gave information, that all disputes between the Kings were done away, and that the army had marched out of Egypt, into Syria. Soon after, arrived ambassadors, from the Kings themselves. Those of Antiochus represented, that "their King had considered a peace, which was agreeable to the senate, as preferable to a victory, how complete soever, and had, accordingly, obeyed the order of the Roman ambassadors, as implicitly, as if it had been a mandate of the gods." They then offered his congratulations on their victory, "to which," they said, "the King would have contributed with his utmost power, if he had received any orders to act." The ambassadors of Ptolemy, in the joint names of that prince and Cleopatra, presented their thanks, acknowledging that "they were more indebted to the senate and people of Rome, then to their own parents, more than to the immortal gods; since, through their intervention, they had been relieved from a most distressing siege, and had recovered the kingdom of their fathers, when it was almost entirely lost." The senate observed of Antiochus "that he had acted rightly and properly, in complying with the demand of their ambassadors; and that his conduct was pleasing to the senate and people of Rome." To Ptolemy and Cleopatra, King and Queen of Egypt, they answered, that "the senate rejoiced very much, at having been, in any degree, instrumental to their benefit and advantage; and would take care, that they should always have reason to account the good faith of the Roman people the strongest support of their kingdom." Caius Papirius, the

prætor, was commissioned to send the usual presents to the ambassadors. A letter now arrived from Macedonia, which greatly added to the public joy, as it brought information, that "King Perseus was in the hands of the consul." After the ambassadors were dismissed, the senate gave hearing to a controversy, between deputies from Pisa, and others from Luna; the former complaining that they were dispossessed of their lands, by the Roman colonists; while the latter insisted, that the lands in question had been marked out to them, by the triumvirs. The senate sent five commissioners to examine and fix the boundaries, Quintus Fabius Buteo, Publius Cornelius Blasio, Tiberius Sempronius Musca, Lucius Nævius Balbus, and Caius Appuleius Saturninus. A joint embassy from the three brothers, Eumenes, Attalus, and Athenæus, came with congratulations on the victory; and Masgaba, son of King Masinissa, having landed at Puteoli, Lucius Manlius, the questor, was immediately despatched to meet and conduct him to Rome at the public expense. As soon as he arrived, the senate was assembled to give him audience. This young prince enhanced the value of services, in themselves meritorious, by the engaging manner in which he mentioned them. He recounted what numbers of foot and horse, how many elephants, and what quantities of corn, his father had sent into Macedonia in aid of the Romans, during the last four years. "But there were two things," he said, "that made him blush; one, the senate having sent, by their ambassadors, a request, instead of an order, to furnish necessaries for their army: the other, their having sent money, in payment for the corn. Masinissa well remembered, that the kingdom, which he held, had been acquired, and very greatly augmented, by the Roman people; and, contenting himself with the management of it, acknowledged the right and sovereignty to be vested in those who granted it to him. It became them, therefore, to take what-

ever grew in the country, and not to ask from him, nor to purchase, any of the produce of lands made over by themselves. Whatever remained, after supplying the Roman people, Masinissa thought fully sufficient for himself. These were the declarations," he said, "of his father, at parting; but he was, afterwards, overtaken by some horsemen, who brought him an account of Macedonia being conquered, with directions to congratulate the senate on that event. He had, also, orders to acquaint them, that Masinissa was so overjoyed at it, that he wished to come to Rome, and, in the Capitol, to offer thanks to Jupiter, supremely good and great. He requested, therefore, that, if it were not disagreeable, the senate would give him permission so to do."

XIV. Masgaba was answered, that "the conduct of his father, Masinissa, was such as became a prince of a benevolent and grateful disposition; while his manner of acknowledging the kindness of his friends, added value and dignity to it. The Roman people had been faithfully and bravely assisted by him in the Carthaginian war; by the favour of the Roman people, he had obtained his kingdom; and he had, afterwards, in the successive wars with the three kings, discharged, with his usual spirit, every duty. That it was no matter of surprise to them, that their successes should give joy to a king, who had so intimately blended his own interests, and those of his kingdom, with the interests of the Romans. That they wished him to return thanks for the same, in the temples of his own country, and which his son might do in his stead at Rome; as he had already said enough, in the way of congratulation, both in his own name, and in his father's. But that the senate were of opinion, that by leaving his own kingdom, and going out of Africa, it might, besides being inconvenient to himself, prove detrimental to the Roman people." On Masgaba making a request, that Hanno, son of Hamilcar, *might be brought to Rome as a*

hostage, in the place *of some other, the senate replied, that they could not reasonably require hostages from the Carthaginians, at the choice of any other person.* The quæstor was ordered, by a vote of the senate, to purchase presents for the young prince, to the value of one hundred pounds weight of silver, to accompany him to Puteoli, to defray all his expenses while he staid in Italy, and to hire two ships to carry him and his retinue to Africa; every one of his attendants, both freemen and slaves, receiving gifts of clothes. Soon after this a letter was brought, concerning Masinissa's other son, Misagenes, stating that, after the conquest of Perseus, he was directed, by Lucius Paulus, to go home, with his horsemen, to Africa; and that, while he was on his voyage in the Adriatic Sea, his fleet was dispersed, and himself in a bad state of health, driven into Brundusium with only three ships. Lucius Stertinius, the quæstor, was sent to him, to Brundusium, with presents of the same kind with those given to his brother at Rome, and he was ordered to provide lodgings for the prince and his retinue, and *every thing necessary for his health and convenience.* * * * * * *

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XV. * * * * * * * * * *

The sons of freedmen had been enrolled in the four city tribes, excepting such as had a son more than five years old; all these the censors, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, ordered to be surveyed in the tribe wherein they had been surveyed the year before; and such as had a farm, or farms, in the country, exceeding in value thirty thousand sesterces,* were allowed the privilege of being included in the country tribes. Though this reservation was made in their favour, yet Claudius still insisted, that "a censor could not, without an order of the people, take away from any man, and much

* 242l. 4s. 3d.

less from a whole class of men, the right of suffrage. For though he can remove a man from his tribe, which is nothing more than ordering him to change it, yet he cannot, therefore, remove him out of all the thirty-five tribes; which would be to strip him of the rights of a citizen, and of liberty; not to fix where he should be surveyed, but to exclude him from the survey." These points were discussed by the censors, who at last came to this compromise: that out of the four city tribes, they should, openly in the court of the temple of liberty, select one by lot, in which they should include all those who had ever been in servitude. The lot fell on the Æsquiline tribe; on which Tiberius Gracchus published an order, that all sons of freedmen should be surveyed in that tribe. This proceeding gained the censors great honour with the senate, who gave thanks to Sempronius for his perseverance in so good a design, and also to Claudius for not obstructing it. These censors expelled from the senate, and ordered to sell their horses, greater numbers than their predecessors. They both concurred, in removing from their tribes, and disfranchising the same persons, in every instance; nor did one of them remove any mark of disgrace inflicted by the other. They petitioned that, according to custom, the year and half's time, allowed for enforcing the repairs of buildings, and for approving the execution of works contracted for, should be prolonged; but Cneius Tremellius, a tribune, provoked at not having been chosen into the senate, protested against it. This year Caius Cicerius dedicated a temple on the Alban mount, five years after he had vowed it; and Lucius Postumius Albinus was inaugurated flamen of Mars.

XVI. The consuls, Quintus Ælius and Marcus Junius, having proposed the business of distributing the provinces, the senate decreed that Spain, which, during the Macedonian war, had been but one province, should be again formed into two; and that the

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present governors, Lucius Paullus and Lucius Anicius, should continue in the government of Macedonia and Illyria, until, with the concurrence of commissioners, they should adjust the affairs of those countries disordered by the war, and form a new constitution for both kingdoms. The provinces assigned to the consuls were Pisæ and Gaul, with two legions to each, containing five thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse. The lots of the prætors were of Quintus Cassius, the city jurisdiction; of Manius Juventius Thalna, the foreign; of Tiberius Claudius Nero, Sicily; of Cneius Fulvius, Hither Spain, and of Caius Licinius Nerva, Farther Spain. Sardinia had fallen to Aulus Manlius Torquatus, but he could not proceed thither, being detained by a decree of the senate, to preside at trials of capital offences. The senate was then consulted concerning prodigies which were reported: the temple of the tutelar deities, on the Velian hill, had been struck by lightning; and two gates, and a large part of the wall in the town of Minervium. At Anagnia, a shower of earth had fallen; and, at Lanuvium, a blazing torch was seen in the sky. Marcus Valerius, a Roman citizen, reported, that at Calatia, on the lands of the public, blood had flowed from his hearth, during three days and two nights. On account chiefly of this last, the decemvirs were directed to consult the books; on which they ordered a general supplication for one day, and sacrificed in the Forum fifty goats. On account of the other prodigies, there was another supplication, of one day's continuance, with sacrifices of the larger victims, and the city was purified. Then, mindful of the gratitude due to the immortal gods, the senate decreed, that, "forasmuch as their enemies were subdued, and Macedonia and Illyria, with their kings Perseus and Gentius, were in the power of the Roman people, therefore, whatever offerings were made in all the temples by Appius Claudius and Marcus Sempronius, consuls, on occasion of the conquest of King

Antiochus, offerings of the same value should then be made, under the superintendence of Quintus Cassius and Manius Juventius, prætors."

XVII. They then constituted commissioners, with whose advice the generals, Lucius Paullus and Lucius Anicius were to regulate the affairs of their provinces; ten for Macedonia, and five for Illyria. Those nominated for Macedonia were, Aulus Postumius Luscus, Caius Claudius, both of whom had been censors, Caius Licinius Crassus, who had been colleague to Paullus in the consulship, and then held the province of Gaul, having been continued in command. To these, who were of consular rank, were added, Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, Servius Cornelius Sulla, Lucius Junius, Caius Antistius Labeo, Titus Numisius Tarquiniensis, and Aulus Terentius Varro. The following were nominated for Illyria: Publius Ælius Ligus, a man of consular rank, Caius Cicereius, Cneius Bæbius Tamphilus, who had been prætor the last year, as had Cicereius, many years before, Publius Terentius Tusciveicanus, and Publius Manilius. The senate then recommended to the consuls that, as one of them must go into Gaul, in the room of Caius Licinius, appointed a commissioner, they should either settle their provinces between themselves, or cast lots, as might be agreeable to them. They chose to cast lots; when Pisæ fell to Marcus Junius, who was ordered to introduce to the senate the embassies that came to Rome, from all quarters, with congratulations, before he went to his province; and Gaul to Quintus Ælius.

XVIII. Although the commissioners were men of such characters as afforded confident hopes that, guided by their counsel, the generals would determine on nothing derogatory either to the clemency or dignity of the Roman people, yet the heads of a plan of settlement were considered in the senate, that the said commissioners might carry out to them a general idea of the whole. First, it was determined, that

" the Macedonians and Illyrians should be enfranchised: in order to demonstrate to all the world, that the arms of the Roman people were employed not in rivetting chains, but in breaking them; and to convince those who already enjoyed freedom, that it would enure to them safe and permanent, under the protection of the *Roman people;* and farther to make known to such as now were subject to despotic rule, that their princes, under awe of the Roman people, would be, at the present, more just and mild; and that, should war break out at any time between their kings and the Roman people, the issue would bring victory to the latter, and liberty to themselves. It was also provided, that the farming both of the Macedonian mines, which produced a very large profit, and crown lands, should be abolished; as business of that kind could not be managed without the intervention of revenue farmers; and wherever people of that description were employed, either the rights of the public were invaded, or the freedom of the allies destroyed. Nor could the Macedonians themselves conduct such affairs; for while they afforded the managers opportunities of acquiring prey to themselves, there would never be an end of disputes and seditions. It was farther determined, that there should be no general council of the nation; lest the perverseness of the populace might, some time or other, convert into pestilent licentiousness the wholesome liberty granted by the senate; but, that Macedonia should be divided into four districts, each of which should have a council of its own; and that they should pay to the Roman people half the tribute which they used, formerly, to pay to their kings." Similar instructions were given respecting Illyria. Other particulars were left to the generals and commissioners; who, by investigating matters on the spot, would be enabled to form more accurate plans.

XIX. Among the many embassies from kings, nations, and states, Attalus, brother to Eumenes, attracted the general attention in a very particular manner; for he was received, by those who had served along with him in the late war, with even greater demonstration of kindness, than could have been shown to the monarch himself. He had two reasons for coming, both, apparently, highly honourable; one to offer congratulations, which was quite proper, in the case of a victory to which himself had contributed; the other, to complain of disturbances raised by the Gauls, so as to endanger his brother's kingdom. But he had, also, a private view; he entertained secret hopes of honours and rewards from the senate, which yet, he could scarcely receive as being more properly the claims of the King. There were some among the Romans who had given him ill counsel; and the prospects, which they opened to him, set his ambition at work. They told him, that "the general opinion concerning Attalus and Eumenes was, that one was a steady friend to the Romans, and that the other was not a faithful ally either to them or to Perseus. That it was not easy to say, with regard to any requests that he might make, whether the senate would have more pleasure in serving him, or in hurting his brother; so entirely were all disposed to gratify the one, and to grant nothing to the other." As the event proved, Attalus was one of those who covet all that hope can promise to itself; and he would have been deluded by these suggestions, had not the prudent admonitions of one friend put a curb on those passions, which were growing wanton through prosperity. He had, in his retinue, a physician called Stratius, whom Eumenes, not perfectly assured of his brother's fidelity, had sent to Rome, for the purpose of watching over his conduct, and for giving him faithful advice, if he should perceive his honour wavering. This man, although he had to address ears already prepossessed, and a

mind labouring under a strong bias, yet, by arguments judiciously timed, he restored every thing to its proper state, even after the case had become almost desperate. He urged that " different kingdoms grew into power by different means. As to that of Eumenes, being lately formed, and unsupported by any long established strength, it was upheld, solely, by the concord of the brothers; for, while one bore the title, and the ornament which distinguishes the head of a sovereign, each of them was considered as a king. As to Attalus, in particular, being the next in years, was there any man who did not hold him as such? and that, not only because his present power was great; but because he must, unquestionably, ascend the throne, in a very short time, in consequence of the age and infirmity of Eumenes, who had no legitimate issue;" for he had not, at this time, acknowledged the son who afterwards reigned: " To what purpose, then, employ violence, to attain what of course must soon be his? Besides, a new storm had fallen on the kingdom, from the insurrection of the Gauls, which the most perfect harmony and union of the brothers would scarce enable them to withstand. But if to a foreign war dissensions were added, nothing but ruin could ensue; nor would his scheme produce any other effects, than that of hindering his brother from ending his life on the throne, and himself from ascending it. If both modes of acting were honourable,—either to preserve the kingdom for his relative, or to take it from him,—yet the honour that would derive to him from the first mentioned proceeding, as it arose in brotherly love, would be the greater. The latter, indeed, would be detestable, and bordering nearly on parricide; what room, then, could there be for deliberation? For, whether did he mean to demand a share of the kingdom, or to seize the whole? If a share were his object, it must follow, that both, by the separation of their strength, would be rendered feeble, and exposed to injuries of every

kind; if the whole, would he then require his elder brother,—reduced to a private station, at his time of life, and under such infirmity of body,—either to live in exile, or to end his life? Not to speak of the tragical catastrophes, represented on the stage, the fate of Perseus was remarkably striking; who, having, by the murder of his brother, opened himself a way to the seizure of the crown, was obliged, on his knees, to lay it down, at the feet of a victorious enemy, in the temple of Samothrace; as if the gods, present on the spot, had demanded vengeance for his crimes. 'Those very men," he continued, "who, from no motive of friendship for him, but of enmity to Eumenes, had instigated him to the adoption of such measures, would ultimately bestow praises on him, if he maintained his fidelity to his brother."

XX. These arguments determined Attalus. On being introduced to the senate, after congratulating them on their success, he made mention of his own services during the war, and those of his brother; of the defection of the Gauls, which had lately happened, and which had caused violent commotions; and he entreated that ambassadors might be sent to those people, whose authority would oblige them to desist from hostilities. After delivering these messages, respecting the general interest of the state, he requested a grant of Ænus and Maronea to himself. Having thus disappointed the hopes of those who expected him to arraign his brother's conduct, and solicit a partition of the kingdom, he retired from the senate-house. There have been few instances of any discourse, whether delivered by a private person or a king, being received with such a degree of favour and approbation by all who heard it; and presents and honours of every kind were conferred upon him, during his stay, and at his departure. Of the many embassies which came from Greece and Asia, that of the Rhodians engaged the greatest share of the public attention. At first they appeared in white, that colour

being the best adapted to persons charged with a message of a joyful nature; for had they worn mourning, it might seem to be put on for the misfortunes of Perseus. Afterwards, on the question being put to the senate, by the consul Marcus Junius, (the ambassadors standing in the Comitium,) whether lodging and entertainment should be allowed them, it was voted, that no duty of hospitality was due to them. When the consul came out of the senate-house, the Rhodians told him, that they were come to congratulate the Romans on their late success, and to clear their state of the charges made against it. They then requested an audience of the senate, to which he returned this answer: that "it was the custom of the Romans both to grant audience in their senate, and to perform other acts of kindness and hospitality to their friends and allies; but that the conduct of the Rhodians, in the late war, had not entitled them to be ranked in the number of friends or allies." On hearing this, they all prostrated themselves on the ground, beseeching the consul, and all present, not to suffer new and false imputations to operate more powerfully to their prejudice, than their long course of services, known to all present, in their favour. They immediately assumed a mourning dress, and, going round to the houses of the principal men, supplicated, with prayers and tears, that their cause might be heard before they were condemned.

XXI. Marcus Juvencius Thalna, the prætor who had the jurisdiction between natives and foreigners, stimulated the public resentment against the Rhodians, proposing an order, that "war should be declared against the Rhodians, and that the people should choose one of the magistrates of the present year, who should be sent with a fleet to carry on that war:" he hoped that himself should be the person chosen. This proceeding was opposed by two of the plebeian tribunes, Marcus Antonius and Marcus Pomponius. But the prætor, on his part, commenced the business in a manner highly un-

precedented, and of very pernicious tendency; for, without first consulting the senate, and without acquainting the consuls, of his own sole judgment he proposed to the people the question, "Was it their will and order that war should be declared against the Rhodians?" whereas, it had ever, until then, been the practice, first to take the judgment of the senate on such a matter, and then to lay the business before the people. On the other side, the plebeian tribunes *opposed this proceeding*; although it was a received rule, that no tribune should protest against a proposal until opportunity was given to private citizens to argue for and against it; in consequence of which it had often happened that some, who had no intention of protesting, discovered improprieties in the question from the discourses of those who opposed it, and therefore did protest; and some, who came avowedly to protest, abstained from it, being convinced by the arguments adduced in its favour. On this occasion, the prætor and tribunes vied with each other in doing every thing out of time. *While the tribunes blamed the hasty proceeding of the prætor, they imitated the example by a premature protest. The only pretence they alleged for it was, the necessity of adjourning the business of the Rhodians until the general, and the ten commissioners, should return from Macedonia.*

XXII. * * * * * * * * †.

"Whether we have transgressed, or not, is yet doubtful; meanwhile, we suffer punishments and disgraces of all sorts. In former times, when we visited Rome, after the conquest of Carthage, after the defeat of Philip, and after that of Antiochus, we *were escorted* from a lodging, furnished us by the public, into the senate-house, to present our congratulations to you, Conscript Fathers; and, from the senate-house to

† The beginning of this speech of Astymedes, chief of the Rhodian embassy, is lost.

the Capitol, carrying offerings to your gods. But now, from a vile and filthy inn, where scarcely could we get a reception for our money, treated as enemies, and forbid to lodge within the city, we come, in this squalid dress, to the Roman senate-house: we, Rhodians, on whom, a short time ago, you bestowed the provinces of Lycia and Caria; on whom you conferred the most ample rewards and honours. Even the Macedonians and Illyrians, you order, as we hear, to be free; though they were in servitude before they waged war with you. Not that we envy the good fortune of any; on the contrary, we acknowledge therein the usual clemency of the Roman people. But will you convert, from allies into enemies, the Rhodians, who, during the war, have maintained the strictest neutrality? You are the same Romans, who boast that your wars are successful, because they are just; who glory not so much in the issue of them (being, as you are, victorious,) as in the commencement of them, because undertaken not without cause. Your war with the Carthaginians was occasioned by their having attacked Messana, in Sicily. The rupture with Philip arose from his attempt to reduce Greece to slavery, and in giving assistance of men and money to Hannibal. Antiochus, on the invitation of the Ætolians, your enemies, came over in person, with a fleet from Asia to Greece; and, by seizing Demetrias, Chalcis, and the streight of Thermopylæ, endeavoured to dispossess you of a part of your empire. The motives to your war with Perseus were his attacks on your allies, and his putting to death the princes and leading members of certain states. But, if we are doomed to ruin, to what will our misfortune be ascribed? I do not yet separate the cause of the state from that of our countrymen, Polyaratus and Dino, with others, whom we have brought hither, in order to deliver them into your hands. But supposing every one of us were equally guilty, I ask what was our crime with respect to the late war? We

favoured, it is said, the interest of Perseus. But have we supported that prince against you in like manner as, in the wars of Antiochus and Philip, we supported you against those kings? Now, in what manner we are accustomed to assist our allies, and with what vigour to conduct wars, ask Caius Livius and Lucius Æmilius Regillus, who commanded your fleets on the coasts of Asia. Your ships never fought a battle in which we did not co-operate. We, with our own fleet, fought one engagement at Samos, and a second on the coast of Pamphylia, against no less a commander than Hannibal. The victory which we gained in the latter, was the more glorious to us, as the loss of a great part of our navy, with a considerable number of the principal young men, in the unfortunate fight at Samos, did not deter us from venturing again to give battle to the King's fleet on its return from Syria. These matters I have mentioned not out of ostentation, (that would ill become our present situation,) but to remind you in what way the Rhodians assist their allies.

XXIII. "When Philip and Antiochus were subdued, we received from you very ample rewards. If the same fortune, which the favour of the gods, and your own courage, have procured to you, had fallen to the lot of Perseus, and we were to go into Macedonia, to the victorious King, to demand rewards from him, what merit should we have to plead? Could we say, that we had assisted him with money, or with corn; with land or sea forces? Had we defended his garrison; or fought either under his generals, or by ourselves? If he should enquire among the land and sea forces, which we sent to act in concert with his, what answer could we give? Perhaps we might be brought to a trial before him, if successful, as we are now, before you. All that we have gained by sending ambassadors, to both, to mediate a peace, is, that we received no thanks from either party, and incurred from one of them accusations and danger. Perseus, indeed, might justly

object to us, what cannot be objected by you, Conscript Fathers, that, at the commencement of the war, we sent ambassadors to Rome, promising supplies of all sorts requisite for the war, and engaging to be ready, as in former wars, with our ships, our arms, and our men. That we did not perform this, you were, yourselves, the cause; you, who, whatever was the reason, rejected our assistance on that occasion. We have, therefore, neither acted in any instance as enemies, nor been deficient in the duty of well-affected allies; which duty, had not you prevented us, we should have performed. What then shall we say? Rhodians, has there been nothing said, or done, in your country, which you disapprove of, and which might give just cause of offence to the Romans? Henceforward, I do not mean to defend what has been done, I am not so weak, but to distinguish the cause of the public from the guilt of private men. For there is no nation whatever that has not, generally, some ill-disposed members, and always an ignorant populace. I have heard, that, even among the Romans, there have been men who worked themselves into power by courting the multitude; that the plebeians sometimes seceded from you, and that you lost the power of directing the affairs of government. If it were possible for this to happen in a state where the rules of conduct are so well established, who can wonder at their being some among us, who, out of a wish to gain the King's friendship, seduced our meaner people by bad advice? Yet their intrigues produced no farther effect than our remaining inactive, without infringing our duty. I shall not pass by that, which has been made the heaviest charge against our state during the war. We sent ambassadors at the same time to you, and to Perseus, to mediate a peace; and that unfortunate undertaking was, by a furious orator, as we afterwards heard, rendered foolish to the last degree; for it appears, that he spoke in such a manner as Caius Popillius, the Roman

ambassador, would have spoken, when you sent him to the two kings, Antiochus and Ptolemy, to induce them to cease from hostilities. But still, whether this conduct is to be called arrogance or folly, it was the same towards Perseus as towards you. States, as well as individuals, have their different characters; some are violent, others daring, others timid; some addicted to wine, others more particularly to women. The Athenian nation has the character of being quick and bold, beyond its strength, in beginning an enterprise; and the Lacedæmonian, of being dilatory and backward, in entering upon business, even when confident of success. I cannot deny that Asia, throughout its whole extent, produces men too much inclined to vanity, and that the speech of even the Rhodians is too much tinctured with vain-glory, which arises from our being supposed to hold some pre-eminence above the neighbouring states. That, however, is owing not so much to our particular strength, as to the marks of honour and esteem conferred on us by you. Our first embassy received a sufficient rebuke from you. But, if the disgrace which we then underwent was too trifling, surely the present mournful and suppliant embassy would be a sufficient expiation for the offence. Arrogance, it is true, creates disgust in some, and ridicule in others; more especially, if it be shown by an inferior towards a superior; but no one has ever yet thought it deserving of capital punishment. It was to be feared that the Rhodians should contemn the Romans! Some men have spoken, even of the gods, in terms too presumptuous; yet we have never heard of any one being struck with thunder on that account.

XXIV. "What charge, then, remains, of which we are to acquit ourselves, since there has been no hostile act on our part? Must the too haughty expressions of an ambassador, though they deserve the displeasure of the hearers, be punished by the ruin of the state? Conscript Fathers, I heard you

debating on the penalty which we ought to pay for our secret wishes. Some assert that we favoured the King, and, therefore, that we should be punished with war; others, that we did indeed wish him success, but ought not, on that account, to be held criminal, since neither the practice nor the laws of any state admit, that simply desiring the destruction of a foe, should subject any one to the penalty of death. We are absolved from the punishment, but not from the crime; and for this it may be thought we should be thankful; but we lay down this law for ourselves: if we all entertained the wishes imputed to us, we will then make no distinction between the will and the deed; let us all be punished. If some of our people in power favoured you, and others the King, I do not demand, that, for the sake of us, who were on your side, the favourers of the King may be saved; but I pray you that we may not be ruined through them. You are not more inveterate against them, than is our state itself; and knowing this, most of them fled, or put themselves to death, the others have been condemned by us, and will soon be in your power, Conscript Fathers. The rest of us Rhodians, as we have merited no thanks during the war, so neither have we deserved punishment. Let our former services be set against our late inactivity. You have recently waged war with three kings; let not the demerit of our inaction, during one of these wars, outweigh the merit of having fought on your side in the other two. Consider Philip, Antiochus, and Perseus, as you would three votes; two of them acquit us, one is doubtful, but rather inclines to our side than otherwise. If they were to sit in judgment, they would give sentence against us. Conscript Fathers, you are to decide, whether Rhodes is to continue to exist or to be utterly destroyed. The issue of your deliberations will not be war; because, Conscript Fathers, though it is in your power to declare war, it is not in your power to wage it, as not a single Rhodian will take up arms

against you. If you persist in your anger, we will beg time from you, until we carry home an account of this unhappy embassy. We will then, every free person of the Rhodians, both men and women, with all our wealth, embark in ships, and leaving the seats of our tutelar deities, both public and private, repair to Rome; where, heaping together in the Comitium, at the door of your senate-house, all our gold and silver, all the public and private property that we possess, we will submit our persons, and those of our wives and children, to your disposal; that, whatever we are to suffer, we may suffer here, and be far removed from the sight of the sacking and burning of our city. The Romans may pass a judgment, that the Rhodians are enemies; but we have also a right, in some degree, to judge ourselves; and we never will judge ourselves your enemies, nor do one hostile act, should we even suffer the last extremities."

XXV. Such was their speech; after which they all prostrated themselves again, and, as supplicants, held out olive branches; but, at length, they were raised, and withdrew from the senate-house. The opinions of the senators were then demanded. The most inveterate against the Rhodians were those, who, as consuls, prætors, or lieutenant-generals, had acted in Macedonia, during the war; and the person who was most useful to their cause was Marcus Porcius Cato, who, though naturally austere, acted his part as a senator, on this occasion, with much mildness. It is not necessary, here, to give a specimen of his copious eloquence, by inserting his speech, as he has published it himself, in the fifth book of his Antiquities. The answer given to the Rhodians was, that "they should neither be declared enemies; nor, any longer, be considered as allies." At the head of this embassy were Philocrates and Astimedes. Half their number, with Philocrates, were ordered to carry home to Rhodes an account of their proceedings; and the other half, with Astimedes, to

remain at Rome, that they might be acquainted with what passed, and inform their countrymen. For the present, they were commanded to remove their governors out of Lycia and Caria, before a certain day. This news was, in itself, sufficiently afflicting; nevertheless, as it relieved the Rhodians from the dread of a greater evil, for they had feared a war, it occasioned even a degree of joy. They, therefore, immediately voted a present, amounting in value to twenty thousand pieces of gold, and deputed Theodotus, the commander of their fleet, to be the bearer of it. They wished to procure an alliance with the Romans; but, in such a manner, as that no order of the people should pass concerning it, nor any thing be committed to writing; so that, if they should fail of success, the disgrace of a refusal might appear the less. Theodotus was empowered, singly, to negociate that business, with the above proviso; for, during a considerable length of time, they had maintained a friendship with the Romans, without being bound by any treaty; their reason for which was, that they might neither preclude the kings from all hope of their assistance, if any of them should need it, nor themselves from a participation of the advantages which might accrue from the good fortune and liberality of the said kings. At this time, however, an alliance seemed particularly desirable, not so much for the sake of security against others, (for, excepting the Romans, they feared none,) as to render them less liable to jealousies, on the part of the Romans. About this time, the Caunians revolted from them, and the Mylassians seized on the towns of the Euromensians. The spirit of their community was not so totally broken, as to hinder their perceiving, that, if Lycia and Caria were taken from them by the Romans, their other provinces would either assert their own freedom, by a revolt, or be seized on by their neighbours; and that themselves would then be shut up in a small island; within the shores of a barren country, inadequate to the main-

tenance of the numerous people in so large a city. They therefore sent out, with all speed, a body of troops, and reduced the Caunians to obedience, though they had received succours from Cybara; and afterwards defeated in a battle at Orthosia the Mylassians and Alabandians, who, having seized the province of Euroma, had united their forces, and came to meet them.

XXVI. Such were the occurrences in Rhodes, in Macedonia, and in Rome. Meanwhile, in Illyria, Lucius Anicius, having reduced King Gentius under his power, as before mentioned, placed a garrison in Scodra, which had been the capital of the kingdom, and gave the command to Gabinius. He also garrisoned Rhizo, and Olcinium, towns very conveniently situated, and appointed Caius Licinius commander. Committing the government of Illyria to these two, he marched, with the rest of his forces, into Epirus. Here, Phanota was the first place which submitted to him; the whole multitude, with fillets on their heads, coming out to meet him. Placing a garrison there, he went over into Molossis, all the towns of which province, except Passora, Tecmo, Phylace, and Horreum, having surrendered, he marched first against Passora. The two men, of the greatest authority in that city, were Antinous and Theodotus, who were remarkable for their warm attachment to Perseus, and hatred to the Romans; into a revolt from whom, the whole nation had been hurried by their instigations. These men, conscious of their own delinquency, and despairing of pardon, shut the gates, that they might be buried under the general ruin of their country, and exhorting the multitude to prefer death to slavery. No man dared to open his lips against men of such transcendent power. At last, one Theodotus, a young man of distinction, (his greater dread of the Romans overpowering the lesser fear of his own leaders,) exclaimed, "What madness has seized you, to make the public accessary to the

crimes of individuals, and only two in number? I have often heard mention made of men who offered themselves to death for the sake of their country; but never, before these, were any found, who required that their country should perish for theirs. Why not open our gates, and submit to that power, to which the whole world has submitted?" As he spoke thus, he was followed by the multitude; on which, Antinous and Theodotus, rushing out on the first advanced guards of the enemy, and freely exposing themselves to their weapons, were slain, and the city was surrendered to the Romans. Through a similar obstinacy in Cephalus, a man in power, the gates of Tecmo were shut; but he was soon put to death, and then the town capitulated. Neither Phylace nor Horreum stood a siege. Having thus reduced Epirus, Anicius distributed his troops in winter quarters, through the most convenient towns; and, returning into Illyria, held a general convention at Scodra, where the five commissioners had arrived from Rome, and to which place he had summoned the principal men, from all parts of the province. There, with advice of the council, he proclaimed from his tribunal, that "the senate and people of Rome granted freedom to the Illyrians; and that he would withdraw his garrisons from all their towns, citadels, and castles. That the Issans and Taulantians, with the Pirustans, the Rizonites, and the Olcinians, should not only enjoy liberty, but likewise an immunity from taxes; because, when Gentius was in his full strength, they had quitted him, and sided with the Romans. That the same exemption was granted to the Daorseans; because they forsook Caravantius, and came over with their arms, to the Romans; and that the Scodrans, Dassarensians, Selepitans, and the rest of the Illyrians, should pay half the taxes which they had formerly paid to their king." He then divided Illyria into three districts; the first was composed of the people above mentioned, the second comprehended all the La-

beatians, and the third the Agranonites, Rizonites, and Olcinians, with the contiguous states. Having thus regulated affairs in Illyria, he returned into Epirus, to his winter quarters, at Passaro.

XXVII. While these matters passed in Illyria, Paullus, before the arrival of the ten commissioners, sent his son Quintus Maximus, who was by this time returned from Rome, to sack Agassæ and Æginium; the former, because the inhabitants, after surrendering their city to the consul, and voluntarily soliciting an alliance with Rome, had revolted again to Perseus: the crime of the people of Æginium was of a late date; not giving credit to the report of the Romans being victorious, they had treated, with hostile cruelty, some soldiers who came into the city. He also detached Lucius Postumius to pillage the city of Ænia; because the inhabitants had continued in arms with more obstinacy than the neighbouring nations. Autumn now approached, when he resolved to make a tour through Greece, in order to take a view of those celebrated curiosities, the knowledge of which is, by the major part of a people, generally taken from the reports of others. With this intention, he gave the command of his quarters to Caius Sulpicius Gallus, and, with a moderate retinue, began his journey, in which he was accompanied by his son Scipio, and Athenæus, King Eumenes's brother. He directed his route, through Thessaly, to Delphi, so famous for its oracle, where he offered sacrifices to Apollo; and observing in the porch some unfinished pillars, on which it had been intended to place statues of King Perseus, he determined, that statues of himself should be erected on them, to commemorate his successes. He also visited the temple of Jupiter Trophonius at Lebadia; where, after viewing the mouth of the cave, through which people applying to the oracle descend, in order to obtain information from the gods, he sacrificed to Jupiter and Hercynna, who have a temple

there; and then went down to Chalcis, to see the curiosities of the Euripus, and of the island of Eubœa, which is there united to the continent by a bridge. From Chalcis, he passed over to Aulis, a port three miles distant, and famous for having been formerly the station of Agamemnon's fleet of one thousand ships; he then visited the temple of Diana, in which the Argive chief purchased a passage to Troy, by offering his daughter Iphigenia as a victim at the altar. Thence he came to Oropus, in Attica; where the prophet Amphilochus is worshipped as a god, and has an ancient temple, surrounded by delightful springs and streams. He then went to Athens, which, though filled with only the decayed relics of ancient grandeur, still contained many things worthy of observation; the citadel, the port, the walls connecting Piræus with the city; the dock-yards, the monuments of illustrious generals, the statues of gods and men, exceedingly curious both in respect of the materials, of various kinds, and the skill of the several artists.

XXVIII. After sacrificing to Minerva, the guardian of the citadel, he continued his journey, and on the second day arrived at Corinth. At this time, that city flourished in extraordinary splendour; the citadel too, and the isthmus, afforded admirable views; the former, towering up to an immense height, yet abounding with springs; and the latter, separating by a narrow neck two seas, which almost meet from the east and west. He next visited the celebrated cities of Sicyon, and Argos; then Epidaurus, which, though not comparable to them in opulence, was yet remarkable for a famous temple of Esculapius, standing at five miles' distance, and, at that time, rich in offerings dedicated to that semi-deity by the sick, in acknowledgment of the recovery of their health; but now showing only the traces of them, whence they have been torn away. Thence he proceeded to Lacedæmon, renowned, not for magnificent works of art, but

for its laws and discipline; and then, passing through Magalopolis, he went up to Olympia. Here having taken a view of all things worthy of notice, and beholding Jupiter in a manner present before him, he was struck with the deepest reverence; so much so, that he ordered preparations to be made for a sacrifice, with more than usual magnificence, and as if he were going to make offerings in the Capitol. Thus he finished his circuit through Greece; during which, he never once inquired how any one, either in their public or private capacity, had stood affected towards Perseus, during the war; being unwilling to disturb the minds of the allies with any kind of apprehensions. On his way back to Demetrias, he was met by a crowd of Ætolians, in mourning apparel. Expressing surprise, and asking the reason of this proceeding, he was told, that five hundred and fifty of the chief of their countrymen had been put to death by Lyciscus and Tisippus, who surrounded their senate with Roman soldiers, sent by their commander Bæbius; that others had been driven into exile; and that the goods of the killed and exiled were in the hands of their accusers. They were ordered to attend him at Amphipolis; and then, having met Cneius Octavius at Demetrias, who informed him that the ten commissioners were landed, he laid aside all other business, and went to Apollonia to meet them. Perseus, being too negligently guarded, had come hither to meet him from Amphipolis, the distance of a day's journey. To him Æmilius spoke with great courtesy; but, when at the quarters of the troops, he gave a severe reprimand to Caius Sulpicius; first, for allowing Perseus thus to ramble through the province, and, next for indulging the soldiers so far as to suffer them to strip the buildings on the city walls of the tiles, in order to cover their own winter huts. These tiles he ordered to be carried back, the buildings to be repaired, and put in their former condition. Perseus, with

his elder son Philip, he gave in charge to Aulus Postumius, and sent them into a place of confinement; his daughter and younger son he ordered to be brought from Samothrace to Amphipolis, and treated them with all possible kindness.

XXIX. When the day arrived, on which he had ordered ten chiefs from each of the states to attend at Amphipolis, and all the writings wherever deposited, and the money belonging to the King, to be brought thither, he seated himself, with the ten commissioners, on his tribunal, where he was surrounded by the whole multitude of the Macedonians. Though they were inured to the government of a king, yet a tribunal, of a different kind from what they were acquainted with, impressed them with terror; the lictor clearing the way, the herald, the sergeant, were all objects strange to their eyes and ears, and capable of inspiring awe in allies, much more in conquered enemies. Silence being proclaimed by the herald, Paullus promulgated, in the Latine tongue, the regulations adopted by the senate, and by himself with the advice of the council; and the prætor, Cneius Octavius, repeated the same in Greek. First of all, he ordered, that "the Macedonians should live free; possessing the same cities, and lands, as before; governed by their own laws, and creating annual magistrates; and that they should pay to the Roman people, one half of the taxes which they had paid to their kings. Next, that Macedonia should be divided into four districts. That one, which should be deemed the first, should comprehend the lands between the rivers Strymon and Nessus, with the addition of that tract, beyond the Nessus, towards the east, wherein Perseus had possessed villages, castles, or towns, excepting Ænus, Maronæa, and Abdera; and of the tract beyond the Strymon, towards the west, comprising all Bisaltica, with Heraclea, which they call Sintice. That the second district should be the country inclosed by the river Strymon, on the east, where were ex-

cepted Sintice-Heraclea and Bisaltica, and by the river Axius, on the west; to which should be added the Pæonians, living on the eastern bank of the Axius. That the third district should have for its bounds, the river Axius on the east, the Peneus on the west, and Mount Bora, on the north. That to this division should be joined that tract of Pæonia, which stretches along the western side of the Axius; Edessa also, and Beræa, should be united to it. The fourth district was to consist of the country on the north of Mount Bora, touching Illyria, on one side, and Epirus, on the other. He then appointed the capitals of the districts, in which the councils should be held; of the first district, Amphipolis; of the second, Thessalonica; of the third, Pella; and of the fourth, Pelagonia. In these, he ordered, that the councils of the several districts should be assembled, the public money deposited, and the magistrates elected." He then gave notice, that it was determined, that intermarriages should not be allowed; that no one should be at liberty to purchase lands or houses, out of the limits of his own district; that the mines of gold and silver must not be worked; but those of iron and copper might; the persons working them paying one half of the tax which they had paid to the King. He likewise forbade the importation of salt. To the Dardanians, who reclaimed Pæonia, because it had formerly been theirs, and was contiguous to their territory, he declared, that he gave liberty to all who had been under subjection to Perseus. Pæonia he refused; but to compensate for this refusal, he granted them liberty to purchase salt, and ordered that the third district should bring it down to Stobi; and he fixed the price to be paid for it. He prohibited them from cutting ship timber themselves, or suffering others to cut it. To those districts which bordered on the barbarians, (and excepting the third, this was the case of them all,) he gave permission to keep armed forces on their frontiers.

XXX. These terms, announced on the first day of the convention, affected the minds of those who were present with very different emotions. Liberty being granted them, beyond their expectation, and the annual tribute being lightened, gave them high satisfaction; but then, by the prohibition of a commercial intercourse between the districts, they thought the territory dismembered, like an animal torn asunder into separate limbs, which stood in need of mutual aid from each other; so litttle did the Macedonians themselves know how great was the extent of their country, how aptly it was formed for a division, and how competent each part was to subsist by itself. The first division contains the Bisaltians, men of the greatest courage, residing beyond the river Nessus, and on both sides of the Strymon; it is peculiarly productive of the fruits of the earth, has mines also, and the city of Amphipolis, most advantageously situated; for, standing just in the way, it shuts up every passage into Macedonia from the east. The second division has two very remarkable cities, Thessalonica and Cassandria, and the country of Pallene, abundantly productive of grain and fruits; it is also well calculated for maritime business, by means of its harbours, at Toro, and at Mount Athos, (called Ænea,) besides others, some of which are conveniently situated upon the Eubœa, and some opposite the Hellespont. The third district has the celebrated cities of Edessa, Beræa, and Pella; and is partly inhabited by the Vettians, a warlike people, also by great numbers of Gauls and Illyrians, who are industrious husbandmen. The fourth district is occupied by the Eordæans, Lyncestans, and Pelagonians, to whom are joined Atintania, Stymphalis, and Elemiotis. All this tract is cold, and the soil rough, and unfavourable to tillage; to which the tempers of the inhabitants bear a strong resemblance. They are rendered the more ferocious by their vicinity to the barbarians, who, by frequent attacks, inure them to a life of arms, and, during

peace, introduce their customs among them. Having, by this division of Macedonia, separated the interests of the several districts, he informed them, that the regulations which were to be binding on the Macedonians in general, should be made known to them, when the time came which he intended to appoint, for giving them a body of laws.

XXXI. The Ætolians were then summoned to appear; but in the trial of their cause, the inquiry was directed to discover, rather, which party had favoured the Romans, and which the King, than which had done, and which suffered injury; for the murderers were absolved of guilt, the exilements confirmed, and the death of the citizens overlooked. Aulus Bæbius, alone, was condemned for having lent Roman soldiers on the occasion. The consequence of this decision through the states and nations of Greece, was, that it puffed up the party which favoured the Romans to an intolerable degree of arrogance; and subjected to be trodden under their feet, all those who were, in the least, suspected of being in the King's interest. Of the leading men in the states, there were three parties: two of which, paying servile court either to the Romans, or the kings, sought to aggrandize themselves by enslaving their countries; while the third, taking a different course from either, and struggling against both, stood up in support of their laws and liberty. These last had the greatest share of the affection of their countrymen, but the least interest among foreigners. The great successes of the Romans had raised their partizans to such importance, that they alone held the offices of magistracy; they alone were employed on embassies. Great numbers of these, coming from the diets of Peloponnesus, Bœotia, and other parts of Greece, filled the ears of the ten commissioners with insinuations, that "those who, through folly, had openly boasted of being friends and intimates of Perseus, were not the only persons who had favoured his cause; much greater

numbers had done so in secret. That there was another party, who, under pretence of supporting liberty, had, in the diets, advanced every measure prejudicial to the Roman interest; and that those nations would not continue faithful, unless the spirits of these parties were subdued, and the influence of those, who had no other object than the advancement of the Roman power, were augmented and strengthened." These men gave a list of the persons alluded to, whom the general called by letter out of Ætolia, Acarnania, Epirus, and Bœotia, to follow him to Rome, and account for their conduct. Two of the ten commissioners, Caius Claudius and Cneius Domitius, were sent to Achaia, that they might, on the spot, summon by proclamation the persons concerned there. For this procedure, there were two reasons; one, that it was believed that the Achæans would be apt to show more courage than the rest, and refuse obedience, and, perhaps, even endanger Callicrates, and other authors of the charges. The other reason for summoning them, on the spot, was, that the commissioners had in their possession, letters from the chief men of the other nations, which had been found among the King's papers; but with regard to the Achæans the charges were not clear, because no letters of theirs had been discovered. When the Ætolians were dismissed, the Acarnanian nation was called in. No alteration was made in their situation, only Leucas was disunited from their council. Then, taking a wider range for their inquiries, respecting those who had, publicly or privately, favoured the King, they extended their jurisdiction even into Asia, and sent Labeo to demolish Antissa, in the island of Lesbos, and to remove the inhabitants to Methymna; because, when Antenor, the commander of the King's fleet, was cruising with his squadron on the coast of Lesbos, they admitted him into their harbour, and supplied him with provisions. Two distinguished men were beheaded, Andronicus, son of Andronicus, an Ætolian, because, accom-

panying his father, he had borne arms against the Roman people; and Neo, a Theban, by whose advice, his countrymen were led to form an alliance with Perseus.

XXXII. After the interruption caused by the consideration of these foreign matters, Æmilius reassembled the council of Macedonia, and informed them, that "with regard to the future form of government they must elect senators called by themselves Synedroi, to whom the administration of public affairs should be entrusted." Then was read a list of Macedonians of distinction, who, with their children above fifteen years of age, were ordered to go before him into Italy. This injunction, at first view cruel, appeared, afterwards, to the Macedonian populace, to have been intended in favour of their freedom. For the persons named were Perseus's friends and courtiers, the generals of his armies, and the commanders of his ships, or garrisons; men accustomed to pay servile obedience to the King, and to domineer haughtily over others; some immoderately rich, others vieing in expense with those to whom they were inferior, in point of fortune; in a word, none possessed of a disposition suited to a member of a commonwealth, and all of them incapable of paying due obedience to the laws, and of enjoying an equal participation of liberty. All, therefore, who had held any employment under the King, even those who had been upon the most trivial embassies, were ordered to leave Macedonia and go into Italy; and the penalty of death was denounced against any who disobeyed the mandate. He framed laws for Macedonia with such care, that they seemed intended not for vanquished foes, but for faithful and deserving allies; laws so wise, that even long experience, the infallible test of excellence, has not been able to discover in them any thing liable to exception. Serious business being now despatched, he turned his thoughts to the celebration of games, for which he had long been making preparations, having sent people to

the states and kings in Asia, to give notice of the intended diversions. In his late tour through Greece, he had himself mentioned his design to the principal people: and he now exhibited them at Amphipolis with very great splendour. There came thither from every quarter, multitudes of artists of every sort, skilled in such exhibitions, wrestlers, and remarkably fine horses; deputations also came with victims and every other mark of respect, usually shown to gods or men, on occasion of the great games of Greece. Hence it came to pass, that people's admiration was excited, not only by the magnificence, but likewise by the skill displayed in the entertainments; in which kind of business the Romans were, at that time, quite inexperienced. Feasts were also provided for the ambassadors with the same degree of care and elegance. An expression of his was generally remarked, that, to furnish out a feast, and to conduct games, required talents equal to those of a consummate general.

XXXIII. When the games of every kind were finished, he put the brazen shields on board the ships; the rest of the arms, being all collected together in a huge pile, the general himself, after praying to Mars, Minerva, mother Lua, and the other deities, to whom it is right and proper to dedicate the spoils of enemies, set fire to them with a torch, and then the military tribunes, who stood round, all threw fire on the same. It was remarkable, that, at such a general congress of Europe and Asia, where such multitudes were assembled, some to congratulate the victors, some to see the shows; and where such numerous bodies of land and naval forces were quartered, so great was the plenty of every thing, and so moderate the price of provisions, that the general made presents of divers articles to private persons, and states, and nations; not only for their present use, but even to carry home with them. The crowd were not more highly gratified by the sight of the stage entertainments, the gymnastics and the

horse races, than by that of the Macedonian booty, which was all exposed to view. In the palace was such a number of statues, pictures, tapestry, and vases, most elaborately formed of gold, silver, brass, and ivory, that they seemed intended, not merely for present show, like the furniture of that of Alexandria, but even for the use of after times. These were embarked in the fleet, and given in charge to Cneius Octavius, to be carried to Rome. Paullus then dismissed the ambassadors with every demonstration of good will; and, crossing the Strymon, encamped for the night at the distance of a mile from Amphipolis; then resuming his march, he arrived, on the fifth day, at Pella. Halting for two days, at a place called Spelæum, he detached his son Quintus Maximus and Publius Nasica, with half of the troops, to lay waste the country of the Illyrians, who had assisted Perseus in the war, ordering them to meet him at Oricum; then, taking the road to Epirus, on the evening of the fifteenth day, he reached the city of Passaro.

XXXIV. Not far from hence was the camp of Anicius, to whom he sent a letter, desiring him not to be alarmed at any thing that should happen, for the senate had granted to his soldiers, the plunder of those cities in Epirus, which had revolted to Perseus. He despatched centurions, who were to give out, that they came to bring away the garrisons, in order that the Epirotes might be free, as well as the Macedonians; and summoning before him ten of the principal men of each city, he gave them strict injunctions that all their gold and silver should be brought into the public street. He then sent cohorts to the several states, ordering those who had the greater distance to go, to set out sooner than the others, that they might all arrive at the places of their destination, on the same day. The tribunes and centurions were instructed how to act. Early in the morning, all the treasure was collected; at the fourth hour the signal was given to the soldiers to

plunder, and so ample was the booty acquired, that the shares distributed were four hundred denariuses* to a horseman, and two hundred to a footman. One hundred and fifty thousand persons were led away captive. Then the walls of the plundered cities, in number about seventy, were razed; the effects sold, and the soldiers' shares paid out of the price. Paullus then marched down to the sea to Oricum; he found, that, contrary to his opinion, he had by no means satisfied the wishes of his men, who were enraged, at being excluded from sharing in the spoil of the King, as if they had not waged any war in Macedonia. Finding, at Oricum, the troops sent with his son Maximus and Scipio Nasica, he embarked the army, and sailed over to Italy. Anicius, a short time after, having held a convention of the rest of the Epirotes, and Acarnanians, and having ordered those of their chiefs, whose cases he had reserved for consideration, to follow him, waited only for the return of the ships that had carried the Macedonian army, and then passed over to Italy. During these transactions in Macedonia and Epirus, the ambassadors, sent with Attalus, to put a stop to hostilities between the Gauls and King Eumenes, arrived in Asia. Having agreed to a suspension of arms, for the winter, the Gauls were gone home, and the King had retired to Pergamus into winter quarters, where he was seized with a heavy fit of sickness. The first appearance of spring drew out both parties; the Gauls had advanced as far as Synada, while Eumenes had collected all his forces at Sardis. The Romans went to confer with Solovettius, general of the Gauls, and Attalus accompanied them; but it was not thought proper that he should enter the camp, lest the passions of either party might be heated by debate. Publius Licinius held a conference with the aforesaid chieftain; and the account he gave was,

* 12l. 18s. 4d.

that mild remonstrances rendered him more presumptuous: It might, therefore, seem matter of wonder, that the mediation of Roman ambassadors should have had so great influence on Antiochus and Ptolemy, two powerful kings, as to make them instantly conclude a peace; and yet, that it should have had no kind of efficacy with the Gauls.

XXXV. The captive kings, Perseus and Gentius, with their children, were the first brought to Rome, and put in custody, and next the other prisoners; then came the Macedonians, who had been laid under injunctions to attend the senate, with the principal Greeks, in the same circumstances; for of these, not only such as were at home were summoned, but even those, who were said to be at the courts of the kings. In a few days after, Paullus was carried up the Tiber to the city, in a royal galley of vast size, which was moved by sixteen tiers of oars, and decorated with Macedonian spoils, consisting not only of beautiful armour, but of tapestry, and such kind of works, which had been the property of the King; while the banks of the river were covered with the multitudes that poured out to do him honour. After a few days, arrived Anicius, and Cneius Octavius with his fleet. The senate voted a triumph to each, and charged the prætor, Quintus Cassius, to apply to the plebeian tribunes, who should propose to the commons the passing of an order, investing them with plenary authority, during the day on which they should ride through the city in triumph. Secondary objects are generally secure from popular displeasure, which usually aims at the highest. With regard to the triumphs of Anicius and Octavius, no hesitation was made; yet Paullus, with whom these men could not, without blushing, set themselves in comparison, felt the attacks of invidious detraction. He had kept his soldiers under the ancient rules of discipline, and his donations, out of the spoil, were smaller than they hoped to have received, when the treasures of the King were

so large; for if he had indulged their avarice, there would have been nothing left to be carried to the treasury. The whole Macedonian army were disposed to neglect attending, in support of their commander's pretensions, at the assembly held for the passing of the order. But Servius Sulpicius Galba, (who had been military tribune in Macedonia, and who harboured a personal enmity against the general,) partly, by his own importunities, partly, by soliciting them, through the soldiers of his own legion,—had spirited them up to attend in full numbers, to give their votes, and to "take revenge on a haughty and morose commander, by rejecting the order proposed for his triumph. The commons of the city would follow the judgment of the soldiery. Was it right, that he should have power to withhold the money, and the army not have power to withhold the honours? Let him not hope to reap the fruits of gratitude, which he had not merited."

XXXVI. By such expressions did he stimulate their resentment; and when, in the Capitol, Tiberius Sempronius, tribune of the commons, proposed the order, and it came to the turn of private citizens to speak on the subject, the passing of it was thought so clear of all doubt, that not one stood forth to argue in favour of it. Whereupon, Servius Galba suddenly came forward, and demanded of the tribune, that, "as it was then the eighth hour, and as there would not be time enough to produce all the reasons, for not ordering a triumph to Lucius Æmilius, they should adjourn to the next day, and take up the business early in the morning: for not less than an entire day would be sufficient to say what was requisite in the cause." The tribune desired, that, whatever he chose to object, he would say it then; and he spoke so long, as to protract the affair until night. He represented, and reminded the soldiers, that "the duties of the service had been enforced with unusual severity; that greater toil

and greater danger had been imposed on them than the occasion required; while, on the other hand, in respect of rewards and honours, every thing was conducted on the narrowest scale; and if such commanders succeeded in their views, military employment would become more irksome and more laborious, while it would produce to conquering troops, neither riches nor honours. That the Macedonians were in a better condition than the Roman soldiers. He then told them, that, if they would attend, next day, in full numbers, to reject the order, men in power would learn, that every thing was not in the disposal of the commander, but that there was something in that of the soldiery." The soldiers, instigated by such arguments, filled the Capitol, next day, with such a crowd, that no one else could find room to come in and vote. The tribes, first called in, gave a negative to the question; on which the principal men in the state ran together to the Capitol, crying out, that "it was a shameful thing, that Lucius Paullus, after his success in such an important war, should be robbed of a triumph; that commanders should be given up, in a state of subjection, to the licentiousness and avarice of their men. A desire of popularity, of itself, too often led generals astray; but what must be the consequence, if the soldiers were raised into the place of masters over their generals?" All heaped violent reproaches on Galba. At last, when the uproar was calmed, Marcus Servilius, who had been consul, and master of the horse, requested that the tribunes would begin the proceedings anew, and give him an opportunity of speaking to the people. These, after withdrawing to deliberate, being overcome by the arguments of some of the first rank, complied with the intreaty of Servilius, that they would call back the tribes, as soon as himself and other private persons should have delivered their sentiments.

XXXVII. Servilius then said: "Roman citizens, if there were no other proof of the eminent abilities of Lucius Æmilius, as a commander, this one would be sufficient: that, notwithstanding he had in his camp soldiers so inconstant and mutinously inclined with an enemy so active, so zealous, and so eloquent, to stir up the passions of the multitude, yet was there never any tumult in his army. That strictness of discipline, at which they have now conceived so much displeasure, kept them then in order. Subjected to the ancient rules, they then remained quiet. As to Servius Galba, if he were disposed to set himself up for an orator, and to give a specimen of his eloquence, in accusing Lucius Paullus, he ought not now to obstruct his triumph; if for no other reason than this, that the senate has pronounced that, in their judgment, he has deserved it. But the proper way would have been, on the day after the triumph, when he should see Æmilius in a private station, to prefer a charge, and prosecute him according to the laws; or else, when he himself should be invested with magistracy. Let Galba cite him to a trial; let him accuse his enemy before the people. In that method, Lucius Paullus would both receive the reward of his proper conduct, a triumph for extraordinary success in war, and also meet punishment, if he had committed any thing unworthy of his former or present reputation. Instead of which, he has undertaken to depreciate the character of a man, to whom he cannot impute a single act either criminal or dishonourable. Yesterday he demanded a whole day, for making his charges on Lucius Paullus, and four hours which remained of that day, he spent in delivering a speech to that purpose. What accused man was ever so transcendently wicked, that his offences could not be set forth in that number of hours? And yet, in all that time, what did he object to him, that Lucius Paullus, if actually on his trial, would have wished to be denied? Let me, for a moment, suppose two assem-

blies: one composed of the soldiers who served in Macedonia; the other, of sounder judgment, unbiassed either by favour or dislike; where the whole body of the Roman people is the judge. Let the business be discussed, first, before the citizens, peaceably assembled in their gowns. Servius Galba, what have you to say before the Roman citizens; for such a discourse, as you made before, is totally precluded. You were obliged to stand on your guards with too much strictness and attention; the watches were visited with too much exactness and severity; you had more fatigue than formerly, because the general himself went the rounds, and enforced the duties. On the same day you performed a march, and, without repose, were led forth to battle. Even when you had gained a victory, he did not allow you rest: he led you immediately in pursuit of the enemy. When he has it in his power to make you rich, by dividing the spoil, he intends to carry the King's treasure in his triumph, and deposit it in the treasury. Though these arguments may have some degree of weight, and are well calculated to stimulate the passions of soldiers, who imagine that too little deference has been shown to their licentious temper, and too little indulgence to their avarice; yet they would have no kind of influence on the judgment of the Roman people; who, though they should not recollect old accounts, and what they heard from their parents, of the numerous defeats suffered in consequence of improper indulgence given by commanders, or of victories gained in consequence of strict inforcement of discipline; yet must they surely remember, so late as in the last Punic war, what a difference there was between Marcus Minucius, the master of the horse, and Quintus Fabius Maximus, the dictator. The accuser, therefore, would soon know, that any defence, on the part of Paullus, would be needless and superfluous.

XXXVIII. " Let us now pass to the other assembly ; and here I am not to address you as citizens, but as soldiers, if, indeed, you can hear yourselves so called without blushing, and feeling the deepest shame for your illiberal treatment of your general. And, to say the truth, I feel my own mind affected in a very different manner, when I suppose myself speaking to an army, than it was, just now, when I addressed myself to the commons of the city. For what say you, soldiers, is there any man in Rome, except Perseus, that wishes there should be no conquest over Macedonia ; and are not you tearing him in pieces, with the same hands with which you subdued the Macedonians ? That man, who would hinder you from entering the city in triumph, would, if it had been in his power, have hindered you from conquering. Soldiers, you are mistaken, if you imagine that a triumph is an honour to the general only, and not to the soldiers also, as well as to the whole Roman people. Not Paullus alone is interested in the present case. Many who failed of obtaining from the senate the grant of public entry, have triumphed on the Alban mount. No man can ravish from Lucius Paullus the honour of having brought the Macedonian war to a conclusion, any more than he can from Caius Lutatius, that of putting an end to the first Punic war, or from Publius Cornelius, that of finishing the second ; or from those who have triumphed *either before those generals, or since.* Neither will a triumph add to, or diminish, the honour of Lucius Paullus, as a commander : the character of the soldiers, and of the whole Roman people, is more immediately concerned therein, lest they should incur the imputation of envy and ingratitude, towards one of their most illustrious citizens, and appear to imitate, in this respect, the Athenians, who have repeatedly persecuted such by exciting the hatred of the populace. Your ancestors were sufficiently culpable in the case of Camillus. They treated him injuriously, before the

city was recovered from the Gauls, through his means; and the same was done by you in the case of Publius Africanus. How must we blush, when we reflect, that the habitation of the conqueror of Africa, was at Liternum; his tomb at Liternum? And shall Lucius Paullus, equal to any of these men in renown, receive from you an equal share of ill treatment? Let that, then, be blotted out, which dishonours us among foreigners, and injures us at home; for who will, henceforward, wish to resemble either Africanus, or Paullus, in a state where merit meets only with ingratitude and enmity? If there were no disgrace in the case, and the question merely concerned glory, what triumph does not imply the general glory of the Roman race? Are all the numerous triumphs over the Gauls, the Spaniards, and the Carthaginians, called the triumphs of the generals only, or are they not, in fact, the triumphs of the Roman people? As the triumphs were celebrated, not merely over Pyrrhus, or Hannibal, but over the Epirotes and Carthaginians; so, it was not the individual Manius Curius, or Publius Cornelius, but the Romans, that triumphed. The soldiers, indeed, are peculiarly interested in this case; for it is their part to appear with crowns of laurel, and decorated with the honorary presents which each has received, to utter the acclamations of victory, and march in procession through the city, singing their own and their commander's praises. If, at any time, soldiers are not brought home from a province to such honours, they murmur; and yet, even in that case, they consider themselves distinguished, though absent, because by their hands the victory was obtained. Soldiers, if it should be asked, for what purpose you were brought home to Italy, and not disbanded, immediately, when the business of the province was finished; why ye came to Rome, in a body, round your standards; why you loiter here, rather than repair to your several homes; what other answer can you give, than that

you wished to be seen in festival? And, certainly, you have a right to show yourselves as conquerors.

XXXIX. "Triumphs have been lately celebrated over Philip, father of the present prince, and over Antiochus: both of whom were in possession of their thrones, when these were performed; and shall there be no triumph over Perseus, who has been taken prisoner, and, with his children, brought away to this city? But if, (while the other generals mounted the Capitol in their chariots, clad in gold and purple,) Lucius Paullus, alone, reduced to a private rank, should, amid the crowd of gowned citizens, call out from the lower ground, and ask them, 'Lucius Anicius, and Cneius Octavius, whether do you esteem yourselves, or me, more deserving of a triumph?' I am confident they would yield him the chariot, and, through shame, present to him, with their own hands, their ensigns of honour. Do ye choose, citizens, that Gentius should be led in procession, rather than Perseus; do you wish to triumph over an accessary, rather than over the principal in the war? Shall the legions from Illyria, and the crews of the fleet, enter the city with laurel crowns; and shall the Macedonian legions, being refused one for themselves, be only spectators of other men's glories? What then will become of such a rich booty, the spoils of a victory so lucrative? Where shall be buried so many thousand suits of armour, stripped from the bodies of the enemy? or shall they be sent back to Macedonia? Where shall be lodged the statues of gold, of marble, and of ivory; the pictures, the ingenious productions of the loom; such a quantity of wrought silver and gold, and such a mass of money as the King's? Shall they be conveyed to the treasury, by night, as if they were stolen? What will become of the greatest of all shows; where will that very celebrated and powerful King, Perseus, be exhibited to the eyes of a victorious people? What a concourse the captured King Syphax, an

expended on the late war, or dissipated during the King's flight, on his way to Samothrace. It is wonderful, that so large a quantity of money should have been amassed within the space of thirty years, since Philip's war with the Romans, out of the produce of the mines, and the other branches of revenue. Philip began war against the Romans with his treasury very poorly supplied; Perseus, on the contrary, with his immensely rich. Last came Paullus, in his chariot, making a very majestic appearance, both from the dignity of his person, and of his age. He was accompanied, among other illustrious personages, by his two sons, Quintus Maximus, and Publius Scipio; then followed the cavalry, troop by troop, and the cohorts of infantry, each in its order. The donative distributed among them was one hundred denariuses* to each footman, double to a centurion, and triple to a horseman; and it is believed, that he would have given double to each, had they not objected to his attaining the present honour, or had answered with thankful acclamations when that sum was announced as their reward. Perseus, led through the city, in chains, before the chariot of the general, his conqueror, was not the only instance, at the time, of the misfortunes incident to mankind; another appeared even in the victorious Paullus, though glittering in gold and purple. For, of two sons, (who, as he had given away two others on adoption, were the only remaining heirs of his name,) the younger, about twelve years old, died five days before the triumph, and the elder, fourteen years of age, three days after it; children, who might have been expected, a short time before, to be carried in the chariot with their father, dressed in the prætexta, and anticipating, in their hopes, the like kind of honours for themselves. A few days after, Marcus Antonius, tribune of the commons, summoned a general assem-

* 3l. 4s. 7d.

bly, at the general's request. Emilius, after descanting on his own proper services, as usually done by other commanders, proceeded in a very remarkable manner, and well becoming a man of the first consequence in Rome.

XLI. " Although, Romans, I cannot suppose you uninformed, either of the success which has attended my endeavours in the service of the commonwealth, or of the two dreadful strokes which have lately crushed my house; since, within a short space of time, my triumph and the funerals of my two sons have been exhibited to your view; yet, I beg leave to represent to you, in few words, and with that temper which becomes me, a comparative view of my own private situation, and the happy state of the public. Departing from Italy, I sailed from Brundusium, at sunrise; at the ninth hour, with my whole squadron, I reached Corcyra. On the fifth day after, I offered sacrifice to Apollo, at Delphi, in behalf of myself, of your armies and fleets. From Delphi, I arrived, on the fifth day, in the camp; where, having received the command of the army, and put in order several matters, which greatly impeded success, I advanced into the country; the enemy's post being impregnable, and there being no possibility of forcing Perseus to fight. In spite of the guards which he had stationed, I made my way through the pass at Petra, and, at length, compelling the King to come to an engagement, gained a complete victory. I reduced Macedonia under the power of the Romans; and, in fifteen days, finished a war, which three consuls before me, had, for three years, conducted in such a manner, that each left it to his successor more formidable than he had found it. Other prosperous events followed in consequence of this: all the cities of Macedonia submitted; the royal treasure came into my hands; the King himself, with his children, was taken in the temple of Samothrace, delivered up, in a manner by the gods themselves. I now thought my good fortune ex-

cessive, and became apprehensive of a change; I began to dread the dangers of the sea in carrying away the King's vast treasure, and transporting the victorious army. When all arrived in Italy, after a prosperous voyage, and I had nothing farther to wish, I prayed, that, (as fortune generally from the highest elevation rolls backwards,) my own house, rather than the commonwealth, might feel the change. I trust, therefore, that the public is free from danger, by my having undergone such an extraordinary calamity, as to have my triumph come in between the funerals of my two sons: such is the delusive imperfection of human happiness! And though Perseus and myself, are, at present, exhibited as the most striking examples of the vicissitudes to which mankind are liable, yet he,—who, himself in captivity, saw his children led captive,—has them still in safety; while I, who triumphed over him, went up in my chariot to the Capitol from the funeral of one son, and came down from the Capitol to the bed of the other, just expiring; nor out of so large a stock of children is there one remaining to bear the name of Lucius Æmilius Paullus. For, having a numerous progeny, I gave away two, on adoption, to the Cornelian and Fabian families. In the house of Paullus not one is there remaining but himself! However, for this disaster of my own family, I find consolation in your happiness, and in the prosperous state of the commonwealth." These words, expressive of such magnanimity, moved the minds of the audience with deeper commiseration than if he had bewailed the loss of his children in the most plaintive terms.

XLII. Cneius Octavius celebrated a naval triumph over King Perseus, on the calends of December, in which appeared neither prisoners nor spoils. He distributed to each seaman seventy-five denariuses;* to the pilots, who were on board,

* 2l. 8s. 5d.

twice that sum; and to the masters of ships, four times. A meeting of the senate was then held, and they ordered, that Quintus Cassius should conduct King Perseus and his son Alexander to Alba, to be there kept in custody; but that he should retain his attendants, money, silver, and furniture. Bitis, son to the King of Thrace, with the hostages he had given to Macedon, were sent to Carseoli; the rest, who had been led in triumph, were ordered to be shut up in prison. A few days after this passed, ambassadors came from Cotys, King of Thrace, bringing money to ransom his son and the said hostages. Being introduced to an audience of the senate, they alleged, in excuse of Cotys, that he had not voluntarily assisted Perseus in the war, but had been compelled to it; and they requested the senate to allow the hostages to be ransomed, at any rate that should be judged proper. They were answered, that "the Roman people remembered the friendship which had subsisted between them and Cotys, as well as with his predecessors, and the Thracian nation; that the giving of hostages was the very fault laid to his charge, and not an apology for it; for Perseus, even when at rest from others, could not be formidable to the Thracian nation, much less when he was embroiled in a war with Rome. But that, notwithstanding Cotys had preferred the favour of Perseus to the friendship of the Roman people, yet the senate would consider rather what suited their own dignity, than what treatment he had merited; and would send home his son and the hostages; that the kindnesses of the Roman people were always gratuitous; and that they chose to leave the value of them in the memory of the receivers, rather than to demand it in present." Titus Quintius Flamininus, Caius Licinius Nerva, and Marcus Caninius Rebilus, were nominated ambassadors to conduct Bitis, with the hostages, to Thrace;

and a present of two thousand asses* was made to each of the ambassadors. Some of Perseus's ships, of a size never seen before, were hauled ashore in the field of Mars.

XLIII. While people yet retained, not only fresh in memory, but almost before their eyes, the celebration of the Macedonian conquest, Lucius Anicius triumphed over King Gentius, and the Illyrians, on the day of the festival of Quirinus. These exhibitions were considered rather as similar, than equal. The commander himself was inferior; Anicius was not to be compared in renown with Æmilius; a prætor in dignity of office with a consul; neither could Gentius be set on a level with Perseus, nor the Illyrians with the Macedonians; nor the spoils, nor the money, nor the presents obtained in one country, with those obtained in the other. But though the late triumph outshone the present, yet the latter, when considered by itself, appeared very far from contemptible. For Anicius had, in the space of a few days, entirely subdued the Illyrian nation, remarkable for their courage both on land and sea, and confident in the strength of their posts; he had also taken their king, and the whole royal family. He carried, in his triumph, many military standards, and much spoil of other sorts, with all the royal furniture; and also twenty-seven pounds weight of gold, and nineteen of silver, besides three thousand denariuses,† and, in Illyrian money, the amount of one hundred and twenty thousand.‡ Before his chariot were led Gentius, with his queen, and children; Carovantius, the King's brother, and several Illyrian nobles. Out of the booty, he gave forty-five denariuses§ to each footman, double to a centurion, triple to a horseman; to the Latine allies the like sums as to natives, and to the seamen the same as to the soldiers. The troops showed more

* 6l. 9s. 2d. † 96l. 17s. 6d.
‡ 3874l. § 1l. 9s. 1d.

joy in their attendance on this triumph than in that of Æmilius, and the general was celebrated in abundance of songs. Valerius Antias says, that this victory produced to the public twenty thousand sesterces,* besides the gold and silver carried to the treasury; but, as no sources appeared from which such a sum could be raised, I have set down my author, instead of asserting the fact. King Gentius, with his queen, children, and brother, was, pursuant to an order of the senate, taken to Spoletium, to be kept there in custody; the rest of the prisoners were thrown into prison at Rome; but the people of Spoletium refusing the charge, the royal family were removed to Iguvium. There remained, of the Illyrian spoil, two hundred and twenty barks, which Quintus Cassius, by order of the senate, distributed among the Corcyreans, Apollonians, and Dyrrachians.

XLIV. The consuls of this year after merely ravaging the lands of the Ligurians, as the enemy never brought an army into the field, returned to Rome, to elect new magistrates, without having performed any matter of importance. The first day on which the assembly could meet, were chosen consuls, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, and Caius Sulpicius Gallus. Next day were elected prætors, Lucius Livius, Lucius Appuleius Saturninus, Aulus Licinius Nerva, Publius Rutilius Calvus, Publius Quintilius Varus, and Marcus Fonteius. To these prætors were decreed the two city provinces, the two Spains, Sicily, and Sardinia. There was an intercalation made in the calendar this year, which took place on the day after the feast of Terminus. One of the augurs, Caius Claudius, died this year, and in his place was chosen, by the college, Titus Quintius Flamininus. The flamen quirinalis, Quintus Fabius Pictor, died also. This year King Prusias arrived at Rome,

Y.R.586. B.C.166.

* 161,458l. 6s. 8d.

with his son Nicomedes. Coming into the city, with a large retinue, he went directly from the gate to the Forum, to the tribunal of the prætor, Quintus Cassius; and a crowd immediately collecting, he said, that "he came to pay his respects to the deities inhabiting the city of Rome, and to the Roman senate and people, to congratulate them on their conquest of the two Kings, Perseus and Gentius, and the augmentation of their empire by the reduction of Macedonia and Illyria under their dominion." The prætor told him, that, if he chose it, he would procure him audience of the senate on the same day, but he desired two days' time, in which he might go round and visit the temples of the gods; see the city, and his acquaintances and friends. Lucius Cornelius Scipio, then quæstor, who had been sent to Capua to meet him, was appointed his conductor in Rome. A house was likewise provided, capable of lodging him and his retinue with convenience. On the third day after, he attended at a meeting of the senate. He congratulated them on their success, recounted his own deserts towards them during the war, and then requested that "he might be allowed to fulfil a vow of sacrificing ten large victims in the Capitol, and one to Fortune at Præneste; a vow which had been made for the success of the Roman people. He farther desired, that the alliance with him might be renewed; and that the territory taken from King Antiochus, and not granted to any other, but now in possession of the Gauls, might be given to him." Lastly, he recommended to the senate his son Nicomedes. His interest was espoused by all those who had commanded armies in Macedonia: his requests, therefore, were granted, except that, with regard to the territory, he received this answer: that "they would send ambassadors to examine the matter on the spot. If the territory in question had become the property of the Roman people, and if no grant had been made of it, they would deem no other so deserving of a pre-

sent of the kind as Prusias. But, if it had not belonged to Antiochus, it evidently, in consequence, did not become the property of the Roman people; or if it had been already granted to the Gauls, Prusias must excuse them if they did not choose to confer a favour on him at the expense of others' rights. A present cannot be acceptable to the receiver, which he knows the donor may take away whenever he thinks proper. That they cheerfully accepted his recommendation of Nicomedes; and Ptolemy, King of Egypt, was an instance of the great care of the Roman people in supporting the children of their friends." With this answer Prusias was dismissed. Presents were ordered to be given him, to the value of * * * * sesterces, beside vases of silver, weighing fifty pounds; with others to his son, Nicomedes, of the same value with those given to Masgaba, the son of King Masinissa; and that victims, and other matters pertaining to sacrifices, should be furnished to the King at the public expense, the same as to the Roman magistrates, whenever he chose to make the offering, either at Rome or at Præneste; and that twenty ships of war should be assigned to him, and which were then lying at Brundusium, of which he should have the use until he arrived at the fleet which was freely given to him. That Lucius Cornelius Scipio should constantly attend him, and defray all his expenses, and those of his retinue, until they went on board the ships. We are told that Prusias was wonderfully rejoiced at the kind treatment which he received from the Roman people; that he refused all that had been offered to himself, but ordered his son to receive the present of the Roman people. Such are the accounts given of Prusias by our own writers. Polybius, however, represents the behaviour of that King as highly unbecoming a person of his rank,—saying, that he used to meet the ambassadors, wearing a cap, and having his head shaved; calling himself a freed slave of the Roman people, and, accord-

ingly, bearing the badges of that class: that, likewise, when coming into the senate-house, he stooped down and kissed the threshold; called the senate his tutelar deities, with other expressions not so honourable to the hearers as disgraceful to himself. He staid in the city and its vicinity not more than thirty days, and then returned to his kingdom.

HERE ends all that has reached us of this history. Of ninety-five books more, which it originally consisted of, the contents only have been preserved; they are as follow:—

BOOK XLVI.

Y.R. 586. B.C. 166.—Eumenes comes to Rome. He had stood neuter in the Macedonian war; in order, however, that he might not be deemed an enemy, if excluded, or considered as absolved of all guilt, if admitted, a general law was made, that no king be received into the city. The consul, Claudius Marcellus, subdues the Alpine Gauls; and Caius Sulpicius Gallus the Ligurians. Y.R. 587. B.C. 165.—The ambassadors of King Prusias complain of Eumenes, for ravaging their borders; they accuse him of entering into a conspiracy, with Antiochus, against the Romans. A treaty of friendship made with the Rhodians, upon their solicitation. Y.R. 588. B.C. 164.—A census held; the number of the citizens found to be three hundred and twenty-seven thousand and twenty-two. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus chosen chief of the senate. Ptolemy, King of Egypt, dethroned by his younger brother, is restored by ambassadors sent from Rome. Y.R. 589. B.C. 163.—Ariarathes, King of Cappadocia, dies, and is succeeded by his son Ariarathes, who enters anew into a treaty of friendship with the Romans. Y.R. 590. B.C. 162.—Expeditions against the Ligurians, Corsicans, and Lusitanians, attended with various success. Commotions in Syria, on occasion of the death of Antiochus, who left a son, an infant; who, together with his guardian, Lesias, is murdered by Demetrius, who usurps the kingdom. Y.R. 591. B.C. 161.—Lucius Æmilius Paullus, the conqueror of Perseus: Such was the moderation and incorruptibility of this great commander, that notwithstanding the immense treasures he had brought from Spain and Macedonia, yet, upon the sale of his effects, there could scarcely be raised a sum sufficient to repay his wife's fortune. Y.R. 592. B.C. 160.—The Pomptine marshes drained, and converted into dry land, by the consul Cornelius Cethegus.

BOOK XLVII.

Y.R. 593. B.C. 159.—Cneius Tremellius, a plebeian tribune, fined, for contending, in an unjust cause, with Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, chief priest; which greatly enhanced the authority of the priesthood. A law made

respecting the canvassing for offices. Y.R. 594. B.C. 158.—A census held; the number of Roman citizens found to be three hundred and twenty-eight thousand three hundred and fourteen. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus again chosen chief of the senate. A treaty concluded between the Ptolemys, brothers, that one should be king of Egypt, the other of Cyrenæ. Y.R. 595. B.C. 157.—Ariarathes, King of Cappadocia, deprived of his kingdom, by the intrigues and power of Demetrius, King of Syria; restored by the senate. Ambassadors sent by the senate to determine a territorial dispute between Masinissa and the Carthaginians Y.R. 596. B.C. 156.—Caius Marcius, consul, fights the Dalmatians, at first, unfortunately; but, afterwards, successfully. The cause of this war was, that they had made inroads upon the Illyrians, who were in alliance with the people of Rome. Y.R. 597. B.C. 155.—The Dalmatians completely subdued, by the consul, Cornelius Nasica. The consul, Quintus Opimius, defeats the Transalpine Ligurians, who had plundered Antipolis and Nicæa, two towns belonging to the Massileans. Y.R. 598. B.C. 154.—Various ill successes, under different commanders, in Spain. In the five hundred and ninety-eighth year from the foundation of the city, the consuls enter upon office, immediately after the conclusion of their election; which alteration was made, on account of a rebellion in Spain. Y.R. 599. B.C. 153.—The ambassadors, sent by the senate, to determine a dispute between Masinissa and the Carthaginians, return, and report that the Carthaginians had collected a vast quantity of materials for ship-building. Several prætors, accused of extortion, by different provinces, condemned and punished.

BOOK XLVIII.

Y.R. 600. B.C. 152.—A census held; the number of citizens amounts to three hundred and twenty-four thousand. A third Punic war; causes of it. Marcus Porcius Cato urges a declaration of war against the Carthaginians, on account of their employing a vast body of Numidian troops under the command of Arcobarzanes, destined, they allege, to act against Masinissa, but he asserts, against the Romans. Publius Scipio Nasica being of a contrary opinion, it is resolved to send ambassadors to Carthage, to inquire into the truth of the affair. The Carthaginian senate being reproved for levying forces, and preparing materials for ship-building, contrary to treaty, declare themselves ready to make peace with Masinissa, upon condition of his giving up the lands in dispute. But Gisgo, son of Hamilcar, a man of a seditious disposition, at that time chief magistrate, notwithstanding the determination of the senate to abide by the decision of the ambassadors, urges the Carthaginians to war against the Romans, in such strong terms, that the ambassadors are obliged to save themselves by flight, from

personal violence. On this being told at Rome, the senate becomes more highly incensed against them. Cato, being poor, celebrates the funeral of his son, who died in the office of prætor, at a very small expense. Andriscus, an impostor, pretending to be the son of Perseus, King of Macedonia, sent to Rome. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, who had been six times declared chief of the senate, on his death-bed, gives strict orders to his sons that he shall be carried out to burial, on a couch, without the usual ornaments of purple and fine linen, and that there shall not be expended on his funeral more than ten pieces of brass: alleging that the funerals of the most distinguished men, used, formerly, to be decorated by trains of images, and not by sumptuous expense. An inquiry instituted concerning poisoning. Publicia and Licinia, women of high rank, accused of the murder of their husbands, tried before the prætor and executed. Y.R. 601. B.C. 151.—Gulussa, son of Masinissa, gives information that troops were levying, and a fleet fitting out at Carthage, and that there could be no doubt of their intending war. Cato urging a declaration of war, and Nasica dissuading it, entreating the senate to do nothing rashly; it is resolved to send ten ambassadors to inquire into the affair. The consuls, Lucius, Licinius Lucullus and Aulus Postumius Albinus, carrying on the levying of soldiers with inflexible severity, committed to prison by the tribunes of the people, for not, at their entreaty, sparing some of their friends. The ill success of the war in Spain, having so discouraged the citizens of Rome, that none could be found to undertake any military command, or office, Publius Cornelius Æmilianus comes forward, and offers to undertake any office whatever, which it should be thought proper to call him to: roused by his example, the whole body of the people make the like offer. It was thought that the consul, Claudius Marcellus, had reduced all the states of Celtiberia to a state of tranquillity; nevertheless, his successor, Lucius Lucullus, is engaged in war with the Vaccæans, Cantabrians, and other nations of Spaniards, hitherto unknown; all of which he subdues. In this war, Publius Cornelius Africanus Scipio Æmilianus, the son of Lucius Paullus, and nephew by adoption, of Africanus, a military tribune, slays a barbarian who had challenged him, and distinguishes himself highly at the siege of Intercatia, being the first who scaled the wall. The prætor, Servius Sulpicius Galba, fights the Lusitanians unsuccessfully. The ambassadors, returning from Africa, together with some Carthaginian deputies, and Galussa, report that they found an army and a fleet ready for service at Carthage. The matter taken into consideration by the senate. Cato, and other principal senators, urge, that an army should be immediately sent over into Africa; but Cornelius Nasica declaring that he, yet, saw no just cause for war, it was resolved that the same should not be declared, provided the Carthaginians would burn their fleet, and disband their troops; but if not,

that then the next succeeding consuls should propose the question of war. A theatre which the censors had contracted for, being built, Cornelius Nasica moves, and carries the question, that it be pulled down, as being not only useless, but injurious to the morals of the people: the people, therefore, continue to behold the public shows standing. Masinissa, now ninety-two years old, vanquishes the Carthaginians, who had made war against him unjustly, and contrary to treaty. By this infraction of the treaty, they also involve themselves in a war with Rome.

BOOK XLIX.

Y.R. 602. B.C. 150.—The third Punic war; which was ended within five years after it began. Marcus Porcius Cato, deemed the wisest man in the state, and Scipio Nasica, adjudged by the senate to be the best, differ in opinion, and contend sharply: Cato urging the demolition of Carthage; Nasica arguing against it. It was, however, resolved, that war should be declared against the Carthaginians, for having fitted out a fleet contrary to treaty, and led forth an army beyond the boundaries of their state; for having committed hostilities against Masinissa, the friend and ally of the Romans; and refusing to admit Galussa, who accompanied the ambassadors into their city. Y.R. 603. B.C. 149.—Before any forces were embarked, ambassadors came from Utica, and surrendered their state and property to the Romans: a circumstance highly pleasing to the Roman senate, and at the same time, a grievous mortification to the Carthaginians. Games exhibited at Tarentum, in honour of Pluto, according to directions found in the Sibylline books. The Carthaginians send thirty ambassadors to Rome, to make a tender of submission; but the opinion of Cato, that the consuls should be ordered to proceed immediately to the war, prevails. These, passing over into Africa, receive three hundred hostages, and take possession of all the arms and warlike stores to be found in Carthage; they then, by authority of the senate, command them to build themselves a new city, at least ten miles from the sea. Roused by this indignant treatment, the Carthaginians resolve to have recourse to arms. Lucius Marcius and Marcus Manlius, consuls, lay siege to Carthage. During this siege, two military tribunes force their way in, with their troops, in a place which they observed to be negligently guarded; they are set upon and beaten by the townsmen, but rescued afterwards by Scipio Africanus, who also, with a few horsemen, relieves a Roman fort, attacked by the enemy, in the night. He also repulsed the Carthaginians, who sallied forth, in great force, to attack the camp. When, afterwards, one of the consuls (the other being gone to Rome, to hold the elections) observing, that the siege of Carthage was not going on prosperously, proposed to attack Hasdrubal,

who had drawn up his forces in a narrow pass, he (Scipio) first advised him not to venture upon an engagement on ground so very disadvantageous: and then, his advice being over-ruled by those who were envious, both of his prudence and valour, he, himself, rushes into the pass; and when, as he foresaw the Romans were routed and put to flight, he returns with a very small body of horse, rescues his friends, and brings them off in safety. Which valiant action, Cato, although much more inclined to censure than to praise, extols in the senate in very magnificent terms: saying, that all the others, who were fighting in Africa, were but mere shadows; Scipio was life itself: and such was the favour he gained among his fellow citizens, that at the ensuing election, the greater number of the tribes voted for electing him consul, although he was under the legal age. Lucius Scribonius, tribune of the people, proposes a law, that the Lusitanians, who, notwithstanding they had surrendered upon the faith of the Roman people, had been sold in Gaul, by Servius Galba, should be restored to liberty; which Marcus Cato supports with great zeal, as may be seen by his oration, which is still extant, being published in his annals. Quintus Fulvius Nobilior, although Cato had before handled him with great severity, yet takes up the cause of Galba. Galba himself too, apprehensive of being condemned, taking up in his arms his own two infant children, and the son of Sulpicius Gallus, speaks in his own behalf, in such a piteous strain of supplication, that the question is carried in his favour. One Andriscus, a man of the meanest extraction, having given himself out to be the son of Perseus, and changed his name to Philip, flies from Rome, whither Demetrius had sent him, on account of this audacious forgery; many people believing his fabulous account of himself to be true, gather round him, and enable him to raise an army; at the head of which, partly by force, and partly by the willing submission of the people, he acquires the possession of all Macedonia. The story which he propagated was this: that he was the son of Perseus by a harlot; that he had been delivered to a certain Cretan woman, to be taken care of, and brought up; in order that whatever might be the event of the war, in which the king was, at that time, engaged with the Romans, some one, at least, of the royal progeny might remain. That, upon the death of Perseus, he was educated at Adramittium, until he was twelve years old; ignorant, all along, of his real parentage, and always supposing himself to be the son of the person who brought him up. That, at length, this person being ill, and like to die, discovered to him the secret of his birth; informing him, at the same time, of a certain writing, sealed with the royal signet of Perseus, which had been entrusted to his supposed mother, to keep and give to him, when he should attain to manhood: but with the strictest injunctions that the affair should be kept a profound secret, until the arrival of that period. That, when the time

came, the writing was delivered to him; in which was indicated a very considerable treasure, left him by his father. That the woman, after informing him fully of the circumstance of his birth, earnestly besought him to quit that part of the country, before the affair should come to the knowledge of Eumenes, who, being the determined enemy of his father Perseus, would, most assuredly, procure him to be murdered. That, fearful of being assassinated, and in hopes also of receiving some assistance from Demetrius, he had gone into Syria; and had there first ventured openly to declare who he was.

BOOK L.

Y.R. 604. B.C. 148.—The aforesaid impostor, assuming the name of Philip, about to invade, and forcibly possess himself of Thessaly, is prevented by the Roman ambassadors, with the aid of the Achæans. Prusias, King of Bithinia, a man abandoned to the practice of every vice, murdered by his son Nicomedes, assisted by Attalus, King of Pergamus. He had another son, who in the place of teeth in his upper jaw, had one entire bone. The Romans send an embassy to negotiate peace between Nicomedes and Prusias; it happening that one of the ambassadors had his head deformed by scars, from many wounds; another was lame from gout, and the third was of weak understanding: Cato said, it was an embassy without head, feet, or heart. The King of Syria was of the royal race of Perseus; but being, like Prusias, addicted to every vicious pursuit, and passing his whole time in tippling-houses, brothels, and such like places of infamous resort, Ammonius rules in his stead; and puts to death all the King's friends, together with his Queen Laodice, and Antigonus, the son of Demetrius. Masinissa, King of Numidia, a man of a character truly illustrious, dies, aged upwards of ninety years; he retained the vigour of youth even to his last years; and begot a son at the age of eighty-six. Publius Scipio Æmilianus, being authorised by his will so to do, divides his kingdom into three parts, and allots their respective portions of it, to his three sons, Micipsa, Gulussa and Manastabales. Scipio persuades Phamias, general of the Carthaginian cavalry, under Himilco, a man highly looked up to and relied upon by the Carthaginians, to revolt to the Romans, with the troops under his command. Claudius Marcellus, one of the three ambassadors sent to Masinissa, lost in a storm. Hasdrubal, nephew of Masinissa, put to death by the Carthaginians, who suspected him of treasonable views, on account of his affinity to Gulussa, now the friend of the Romans. Scipio Æmilianus, when a candidate for the ædileship, is, by the people, elected consul, though under age: a violent contest arises upon this, the people supporting, the nobles opposing, his election; which,

at length, terminates in his favour. Marcus Manlius takes several citizens in the neighbourhood of Carthage. The impostor Philip, having slain the prætor Publius Juventius, and vanquished his army, is, himself, afterwards subdued and taken prisoner by Quintus Cæcilius, who recovers Macedonia.

BOOK LI.

Y.R. 605. B.C. 147.—Carthage comprehended in a circuit of twenty-three miles, besieged with immense exertion, and gradually taken; first, by Mancinus, acting as lieutenant-general; and afterwards by Scipio, consul, to whom Africa was voted as his province, without casting lots. The Carthaginians having constructed a new mole, (the old one being destroyed by Scipio,) and equipped, secretly, in an extraordinary short space of time, a considerable fleet, engage, unsuccessfully, in a sea fight. Hasdrubal, with his army, notwithstanding he had taken post in a place of extremely difficult approach, cut off by Scipio: who, at length, masters the city, in the seven hundredth year after its foundation. Y.R. 606. B.C. 146.—The greater part of the spoil returned to the Sicilians, from whom it had been taken. During the destruction of the city, when Hasdrubal had given himself up into Scipio's hands, his wife, who, a few days before, had not been able to prevail upon him to surrender to the conqueror, casts herself, with her two children, from a tower, into the flames of the burning city. Scipio, following the example of his father, Æmilius Paullus, the conqueror of Macedonia, celebrates solemn games; during which, he exposes the deserters and fugitives to wild beasts. War declared against the Achæans, who had forcibly driven away the Roman ambassadors, sent to Corinth to separate the cities, under the dominion of Philip, from the Achæan council.

BOOK LII.

Quintus Cæcilius Metellus engages and conquers the Achæans, together with the Bœotians and Chalcidians. Critolaus, their unsuccessful general, poisons himself; in whose room, the Achæans choose Diæus, the chief promoter of the insurrection, general; he, also, is conquered, in an engagement near Isthmos, and all Achaia reduced: Corinth demolished, by order of the senate, because violence had been done there to the ambassadors. Thebes, also, and Chalcis, for having furnished aid to the Achæans, destroyed. Extraordinary moderation of Mummius, who, having all the vast wealth, and splendid ornaments, of the opulent city of Corinth, in his power, took none of it. Quintus Cæcilius Metellus triumphs, on account of his victory over Andriscus; likewise, Publius Cornelius Scipio, for the conquest of

Carthage and Hasdrubal. Y.R. 607. B.C. 145.—Viriathus, in Spain, from a shepherd becomes a hunter, then leader of a band of robbers; afterwards, general of a powerful army, with which, he possesses himself of all Lusitania, having vanquished the prætor, Petillius, and put his army to flight. Caius Plautius, prætor, sent against him; is equally unsuccessful. So successful was his career, that, at length, it was deemed necessary to send a consul, at the head of a consular army, against him. Commotions in Syria, and wars between the kings in those parts. Alexander, a man utterly unknown, and of an unknown race, murders Demetrius, and usurps the crown in Syria: he is afterwards slain by Demetrius, (son of the before-mentioned Demetrius,) aided by Ptolemy, King of Egypt, whose daughter he had married. Ptolemy grievously wounded in the head; dies of the operations intended for the cure of his wounds; is succeeded by his younger brother, Ptolemy, King of Cyrene. Demetrius, by his cruelty towards his subjects, provokes an insurrection: vanquished by Diodotus, and flies to Seleucia. Diodotus claims the crown for Alexander, a child scarcely two years old. Splendid triumph of Lucius Mummius over the Achæans.

BOOK LIII.

Y.R. 608. B.C. 144.—Appius Claudius, consul, subdues the Salacians, a nation of the Alps. Another impostor, assuming the name of Philip, makes his appearance in Macedonia; vanquished by the quæstor, Lucius Tremellius. Y.R. 609. B.C. 143.—Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, proconsul, defeats the Celtiberians. Y.R. 610. B.C. 142.—Quintus Fabius, proconsul, takes many cities of Lusitania, and recovers the greatest part of that country. Caius Julius, a senator, writes the Roman history, in the Greek language.

BOOK LIV.

Y.R. 611. B.C. 141.—Quintus Pompeius, consul, subdues the Termestines, in Spain; makes peace with them, and also with the Numantians, The census held; the number of citizens amounts to three hundred and twenty-eight thousand three hundred and forty-two. Ambassadors from Macedonia complain that Decius Junius Silanus, the prætor, had extorted money from that province; the senate, at his desire, refer the inquiry into the matter to Titus Manlius Torquatus, father of Silanus; having finished the inquiry, in his own house, he pronounces his son guilty, and disclaims him; and would not, afterwards, attend his funeral, when he put an end to his life, by hanging himself; but continued to sit at home, and give audience to those who consulted him, as if nothing, which concerned him, had happened. Y.R. 612. B.C. 140.—Quintus Fabius, proconsul, having

successfully terminated the war, stains the honour of his victories, by making peace with Viriathus, upon terms of equality. Y.R. 613. B.C. 139.—Servilius Cæpio procures the death of Viriathus, by traitors; he is much bewailed, and interred with distinguished funeral honours by his army. He was in truth, a great man, and a valiant general; and in the fourteen years during which he carried on war with the Romans, had very frequently vanquished their armies.

BOOK LV.

Y.R. 614. B.C. 138.—While Publius Cornelius Nasica (who was nicknamed Serapio, by the plebeian tribune Curiatius, a man of humour) and Decius Junius Brutus, the consuls were holding the levies, an act of public justice was done, in the sight of the whole body of the young men, then assembled, which afforded a very useful example: Caius Matienus was accused, before the tribunes, of deserting from the army in Spain: being found guilty, he was scourged under the gallows, and sold as a slave, for a very small piece of money.* The tribunes of the people claimed the privilege of exempting from service any ten soldiers, whom they thought proper; which being refused by the consuls, they commit them to prison. Junius Brutus, consul in Spain, allots lands, and a town, called Valentia, to the soldiers who had served under Viriathus. Marcus Popillius, having made peace with the Numantines, which the senate refused to ratify, is routed, and his whole army put to flight. Y.R. 615. B.C. 137.—While Caius Hostilius Mancinus, the consul, was sacrificing, the holy chickens escape from their coop, and fly away; afterwards, as he was getting on board his ship, to sail for Spain, a voice is heard, crying out, "Go not, Mancinus, go not." The event afterwards proves these omens to have been inauspicious: for, being vanquished by the Numantines, and driven out of his camp, having no prospect of preserving his army, he made a disgraceful peace, which the senate likewise refused to ratify. Upon this occasion, thirty thousand Romans were beaten by only four thousand Numantines. Decius Junius Brutus subdues all Lusitania, as far as the western sea; his soldiers refusing to pass the river Oblivion, he snatches the standard and carries it over; whereupon, they follow him. The son of Alexander, King of Syria, traitorously murdered by his guardian Diodotus, surnamed Tryphon: his physicians were bribed to give out that he had a stone in his bladder; in pretending to cut him for which, they killed him.

* Worth less than 4d.

BOOK LVI.

Y.R. 616. B.C. 136.—Decius Junius Brutus fights the Gallæcians, with success, in the Farther Spain: Marcus Æmilius Lepidus engages the Vaccæans, unsuccessfully, and is as unfortunate as Mancinus was against the Numantines. The Romans, to absolve themselves of the guilt of breach of treaty, order Mancinus, who made the peace with the Numantines, to be delivered up to that people; but they refuse to receive him. Y.R. 617. B.C. 135.—The lustrum closed by the censors: the number of citizens, three hundred and twenty-three thousand. Fulvius Flaccus, consul, subdues the Vardeans in Illyria. Marcus Cosconius, prætor, fights the Scordiscians, in Thrace, and conquers them. The war in Numantia, owing to the ill conduct of the generals, still continuing, the senate and people voluntarily confer the consulship upon Scipio Africanus: on which occasion the law, which prohibits any man from being elected consul a second time, is dispensed with. Y.R. 618. B.C. 134.—An insurrection of the slaves in Sicily; which, the prætor not being able to quell it, is committed to the care of the consul Caius Fulvius. Eunus, a slave, a Syrian by birth, was the author of this war; by gathering a large body of the rustic slaves, and breaking open the prisons, he raised a considerable army: Cleon, also, another slave, having assembled seventy thousand slaves, joins him; and they, several times, engage the Roman forces in those parts.

BOOK LVII.

Y.R. 619. B.C. 133.—Scipio Africanus lays siege to Numantia. Reduces to strict discipline the army, now exceedingly licentious, being corrupted by luxurious indulgence: this he effects by cutting off every kind of pleasurable gratification; driving away the prostitutes who followed the camp, to the number of two thousand; keeping the soldiers to hard labour, and compelling every man to bear on his shoulders provisions for thirty days, besides seven stakes, for their fortifications; whenever he observed any of them sinking under the burden, he used to cry out, "When you are able to defend yourself with your sword, then shall you be eased from your load of timber." He made them carry shields of immense size and weight; and not unfrequently ridiculed them, for being more expert in managing their shields, for the defence of their own bodies, than their swords for the annoyance of those of the enemy. When he found any man absent from his post, he ordered him to be flogged, with vine twigs, if a Roman; if a foreigner, with rods. He sold all the beasts of burden, that the soldiers might be forced to carry their own baggage. He engaged in frequent

skirmishes with the enemy, with good success. The Vaccæans, being reduced to extremity, first, put their wives and children to death, and then slew themselves. Antiochus, King of Syria, having sent him some very magnificent presents, Scipio, contrary to the practice of other commanders, who used to conceal these royal gifts, received them openly, and ordered the quæstor to place the whole to the public account; and promised, out of them, to reward those who should most distinguish themselves by their valour. When Numantia was closely invested on all sides, he gave orders, that those who came out, in search of victuals, should not be killed: saying, that the more numerous the inhabitants were, the sooner would their provisions be consumed."

BOOK LVIII.

Titus Sempronius Gracchus, plebeian tribune, having proposed an Agrarian law, (contrary to the sense of the senate, and the equestrian order,) that no person should hold more than five hundred acres of the public lands, wrought himself up to such a degree of passion, that he deprived his colleague, Marcus Octavius, of his authority, and appointed himself, together with his brother Caius, and his father-in-law, Appius Claudius, commissioners for dividing the lands. He also proposed another Agrarian law; that the same commissioners should be authorised to determine, which was public, and which private, land; and to settle the extent of each. When, afterwards, it appeared that there was not land sufficient, to be divided, according to his scheme, and that he had excited the hopes of the people, by the expectations held out to them, he declared that he would propose a law, that all those, who, by the law of Sempronius, were entitled to such grant, should be paid in money, out of the bequest of Attalus, King of Pergamus. The senate was roused to indignation, at such repeated ill-treatment; and chiefly, Publius Mucius the consul, who, having delivered a severe invective against Gracchus, in the senate, was seized by him, dragged before the people, and accused; nevertheless, he continued to inveigh against him from the rostrum. Gracchus endeavouring to procure his re-election, as tribune, slain, in the Capitol, by the chief nobles, by the advice of Publius Cornelius Nasica: is thrown, without the rites of sepulture, into the river, together with some others, who fell in the tumult. Various engagements, with various success, against the slaves in Sicily.

BOOK LIX.

The Numantines, reduced to the extremity of distress, by famine, put themselves to death. Scipio, having taken the city, destroys it, and triumphs, in the fourteenth year after the destruction of Carthage. Y.R. 620. B.C. 132.—The consul, Publius Rupilius, puts an end to the war with the slaves in Sicily, Aristonicus, the son of King Eumenes, invades and seizes Asia; which having been bequeathed to the Roman people, by Attalus, ought to be free. The consul, Publius Licinius Crassus, who was also chief priest, marches against him, out of Italy, (which never before was done,) engages him in battle, is beaten and slain. Marcus Peperna, consul, subdues Aristonicus. Quintus Metellus and Quintus Pomponius, the first plebeians, who were ever, both at one time, elected censors, close the lustrum: the number of citizens amount to three hundred and thirteen thousand eight hundred and twenty-three, besides orphans and widows. Y.R. 621. B.C. 131.—Quintus Metellus gives his opinion, that every man should be compelled to marry, in order to increase the population of the state. His speech, upon the occasion, is still extant, and so exactly does it apply to the present times, that Augustus Cæsar read it, in the senate, upon occasion of his proposing to remove from marriage all restraints, on account of difference of rank. Caius Atinius Labeo, tribune of the people, orders the censor Quintus Metellus, to be thrown from the Tarpeian rock, for striking him out of the list of the senate; but the other tribunes interfere and protect him. Y.R. 622. B.C. 130.—Quintus Carbo, plebeian tribune, proposes a law, that the people might have the power of re-electing the same tribune as often as they please: Publius Africanus, argues against the proposition, in a speech of great energy, in which he asserts that Tiberius Gracchus was justly put to death. Caius Gracchus supports the proposed law: but Scipio prevails. War between Antiochus King of Syria, and Phraates King of Parthia. Commotions in Egypt. Ptolemy, surnamed Evergetes, detested by his subjects for his cruelty; they set his palace on fire: he escapes to Cyprus. The people confer the kingdom upon his sister Cleopatra, who had been his wife, but he had divorced her, having first ravished, and then married her daughter. Incensed at his dethronement, he murders the son he had by her, and sends to her his head and limbs. Y.R. 623. B.C. 129.—Seditions excited by Fulvius Flaccus, Caius Gracchus, and Caius Carbo, commissioners for carrying into execution the Agrarian law: these are opposed by Publius Scipio Africanus, who going home at night, in perfect health, is found dead in his chamber the next morning. His wife Sempronia, sister of the Grac-

chuses, with whom Scipio was at enmity, is strongly suspected of having given him poison: no inquiry, however, is made into the matter. Upon his death, the popular seditions blaze out with great fury. Caius Sempronius, the consul, fights the Iapidæ, at first, unsuccessfully; but soon repairs all his losses, by a signal victory, gained, chiefly by Junius Brutus, the conqueror of Lusitania.

BOOK LX.

Y.R. 624. B.C. 128.—A rebellion in Sardinia; quelled by the consul, Lucius Aurelius. Marcus Fulvius Flaccus, who, first, subdued the Transalpine Ligurians, sent to assist the Massilians, against the Salvian Gauls, who were ravaging their country. Lucius Opimius, prætor, subdues the revolted Fregellans, and destroys their town, Fregellæ. Y.R. 625. B.C. 127.—An extraordinary multitude of locusts, in Africa, killed and lying dead on the ground, produce a pestilence. Y.R. 626. B.C. 126.—The censors close the lustrum: the number of the citizens, three hundred and ninety thousand seven hundred and thirty-six. Y.R. 627. B.C. 125.—Caius Gracchus, plebeian tribune, the brother of Tiberius, yet professing more eloquence than him, carries some very dangerous laws; among others, one, respecting corn, that the people shall be supplied with the article in the market, at the rate of half and a third of an as: also an Agrarian law, the same as his brothers: and a third, intended to corrupt the equestrian order, who, at that time, were subservient, in all their opinions, to the senate: it was, that six hundred of them should be admitted of their house. At that time the senate consisted of only three hundred members: the operation of the law was to throw all the power into the hands of this order, by making them double in number to the ancient senators. His office being continued to him another year, he causes several colonies to be led out into various parts of Italy; and one, which he conducted himself, to be established on the soil where Carthage, now demolished, formerly stood. Y.R. 628. B.C. 124.—Successful expedition of the consul Quintus Metellus, against the Balearians, called by the Greeks, Gymnesians, because they go naked all the summer. They are called Balearians, from their skill in throwing weapons: or, as some will have it, from Baleus, the companion of Hercules, who left him there behind him, when he sailed to Geryon. Y.R. 629. B.C. 123.—Commotions in Syria, in which Cleopatra murders her husband Demetrius; and also his son Seleucus, for assuming the crown, without her consent, upon his father's death.

BOOK LXI.

Y.R. 630. B.C. 122.—Caius Sextius, proconsul, having subdued the nation of the Salyans, founds a colony, which he names Aquæ Sextiæ, after his own name, and on account of the plenty of water, which he found there, flowing both from hot and cold springs. Y.R. 631. B.C. 121.—Cneius Domitius, proconsul, fights the Allobrogians, with success, at the town of Vindalium. The cause of this war was, their receiving, and furnishing with all the aid in their power, Teutomalius, the King of the Salyans, who had fled to them; and ravaging the lands of the Æduans, who were in alliance with the people of Rome. Y.R. 632. B.C. 120.—Caius Gracchus, upon the expiration of his seditious tribunate, seizes upon the Aventine mount, with a considerable number of armed followers; Lucius Opimius, by a decree of the senate, arms the people, drives him from thence, and puts him to death; together with Fulvius Flaccus, a man of consular rank, associated with him. Quintus Fabius Maximus, the consul, nephew of Paullus, gains a battle against the Allobrogians, and Bituitus King of the Arvernians; in which one thousand one hundred and twenty of the army of Bituitus, are slain. Y.R. 633. B.C. 119.—The king comes to Rome to make satisfaction to the senate, and is sent prisoner to Alba, there to be kept in custody, it not being deemed safe to send him back to Gaul. A decree, also, passes, that his son Congentiatus should be taken, and sent to Rome. Submission of the Allobrogians. Lucius Opimius brought to trial, before the people, for committing to prison some citizens who had not been condemned; acquitted.

BOOK LXII.

Y.R. 634. B.C. 118.—The consul Quintus Marcius subdues the Stonians, an Alpine nation. Micipsa, King of Numidia, dying, bequeaths his kingdom to his three sons, Atherbal, Hiempsal, and Jugurtha, his nephew, whom he had adopted. Y.R. 635. B.C. 117.—Metellus subdues the Dalmatians. Jugurtha goes to war with his brother Hiempsal; vanquishes and puts him to death: drives Atherbal from his kingdom; who is restored by the senate. Y.R. 636. B.C. 116.—Lucius Cæcilius Metellus, and Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus, censors, expel thirty-two senators. Y.R. 637. B.C. 115.—Disturbances in Syria.

BOOK LXIII.

Y.R. 638. B.C. 114.—Caius Porcius, the consul, combats the Scordiscians, in Thrace, unsuccessfully. The lustrum closed by the censors: the number of the citizens amounts to three hundred and ninety-four thousand three hundred and thirty-six. Æmilia, Licinia, and Marcio, vestals, found guilty of incest. Y.R. 639. B.C. 113.—The Cimbrians, a wandering people, come into Illyria, where they fight with, and defeat, the army of the consul Papirius Carbo. Y.R. 640. B.C. 112.—The consul Livius Drusus, makes war upon the Scordiscians, a people descended from the Gauls: vanquishes them, and gains great honour.

BOOK LXIV.

Jugurtha attacks Atherbal, besieges him in Cirtha, and puts him to death, contrary to the express commands of the senate. Y.R. 641. B.C. 111. —War is declared against him, which being committed to the conduct of the consul, Calpurnius Bestia, he makes peace with Jugurtha, without authority from the senate and people. Y.R. 642. B.C. 110.—Jugurtha, called upon to declare who were his advisers, comes to Rome upon the faith of a safe-conduct; he is supposed to have bribed many of the principal senators. He murders Massiva, who sought, through the hatred which he saw the Romans bore to Jugurtha, to procure his kingdom for himself. Being ordered to stand his trial, he escapes; and is reported to have said, on going away, "O venal city! doomed to quick perdition, could but a purchaser be found!" Aulus Postumius, having unsuccessfully fought Jugurtha, adds to his disgrace, by making an ignominious peace with him; which the senate refuses to ratify.

BOOK LXV.

Y.R. 643. B.C. 109.—Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, consul, defeats Jugurtha, in two battles, and ravages all Numidia. Marcus Junius Silanus, consul, combats the Cimbrians, unsuccessfully. The Cimbrian ambassadors petition the senate for a settlement and lands; are refused. Y.R. 644. B.C. 108.—Marcus Minucius, consul, vanquishes the Thracians. Cassius, the consul, with his army, cut off by the Tigurine Gauls, in the country of the Helvetians. The soldiers, who survived that unfortunate action, condition for their lives, by giving hostages, and agreeing to deliver up half their property.

BOOK LXVI.

Y.R. 645. B.C. 107.—Jugurtha, driven out of Numidia by Caius Marius, receives aid from Bocchus, King of the Moors. Y.R. 646. B.C. 106.—Bocchus, having lost a battle, and being unwilling to carry on the war any longer, delivers up Jugurtha, in chains, to Marius. In this action, Lucius Cornelius Sylla, quæstor under Marius, most highly distinguishes himself.

BOOK LXVII.

Y.R. 647. B.C. 105.—Marcus Aurelius Scaurus, lieutenant-general under the consul, taken prisoner by the Cimbrians, his army being routed: slain by Boiorix, for saying, in their council, when they talked of invading Italy, that the Romans were not to be conquered. Cneius Mallius, consul, and Quintus Servilius Cæpio, proconsul, taken prisoners, by the same enemy who defeated their armies and drove them from both their camps, with the loss of eighty thousand men, and forty thousand sutlers, and other followers of the camp. The goods of Cæpio, whose rashness was the cause of this misfortune, sold by auction, by order of the people; being the first person whose effects were confiscated, since the dethroning of King Tarquin. Y.R. 648. B.C. 104.—Jugurtha, and his two sons, led in triumph, before the chariot of Caius Marius; put to death in prison. Marius enters the senate, in his triumphal habit; the first person that ever did so: on account of the apprehensions entertained of a Cimbrian war, he is continued in the consulship for several years, being elected a second, and a third time, in his absence: dissembling his views, he attains the consulship a fourth time. The Cimbrians, having ravaged all the country between the Rhine and the Pyrenees, pass into Spain; where having committed the like depredations, they are at length put to flight by the Celtiberians: returning into Gaul, they join the Teutons, a warlike people.

BOOK LXVIII.

Y.R. 649. B.C. 103.—Marcus Antonius, prætor, attacks the pirates, and chaces them into Cilicia. The consul Caius Marius, attacked by the Teutons and Ambrogians, with their utmost force, defends himself; and afterwards in two battles, in the neighbourhood of Aquæ Sextiæ, utterly defeats them, with the loss, it is said, of two hundred thousand killed, and ninety thousand taken prisoners. Marius elected consul, in his absence, a fifth time. A triumph offered to him which he defers, until he shall have subdued the Cimbrians also. Y.R. 650. B.C. 102.—The Cimbrians

drive Quintus Catulus, the proconsul, from the Alps, where he had possessed himself of the narrow passes, and erected a castle to command the river Athesis, which he abandons. They pass into Italy. Catulus and Marius, having effected a junction of their forces, fight and vanquish them: in this battle, we are told, that there fell, one hundred and forty thousand of the enemy, and that sixty thousand were taken. Marius, on his return to Rome, is received with the highest honours, by the whole body of the citizens; two triumphs offered him, but he contents himself with one. The principal men in the state, who were, for some time, extremely envious that such distinctions should be conferred upon a new man, now acknowledge him to have saved the commonwealth. Y.R. 651. B.C. 101.—Publicius Malleolus executed for the murder of his mother; being the first that ever was sown up in a sack and cast into the sea. The sacred shields are said to have shaken, with considerable noise, previous to the conclusion of the Cimbrian war. Wars between the kings of Syria.

BOOK LXIX.

Lucius Apuleius Saturninus, aided by Marius,—the soldiers having killed his competitor, Aulus Nonius,—forcibly elected tribune; exercises his office, with a violence equal to that by which he obtained it. Having procured an Agrarian law, he summons Metellus Numidicus to stand his trial before the people, for refusing to swear to the observance of it. Metellus, notwithstanding he enjoyed the protection of all the best men in the state, yet, being unwilling to furnish matter of dispute, retires into voluntary exile, to Rhodes: there he passed his time, entirely in study, and in receiving the visits of men of eminent character. Y.R. 652. B.C. 100.—On his departure, Caius Marius, who was, in fact, the chief promoter of the sedition, and who had now purchased a fourth consulship, by openly distributing money among the tribes, pronounced sentence of banishment upon him. The same Saturninus murders Caius Memmius, who was a candidate for the consulship, fearing lest he might have, in him, a strenuous opposer of his evil actions. The ser were at length roused by such repeated acts of enormity, and Mariu a man of a very versatile character, and always desirous of being on the strong side, if he could any way discover it) joined them. In consequence of this, Saturninus, together with Glaucias, the prætor, and some others of his mad associates, is attacked by force of arms, and slain by one Rabirius. Y.R. 653. B.C. 99.—Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, honourably recalled from banishment. Marcus Aquilius, proconsul, puts an end to the war of the slaves in Sylly.

BOOK LXX.

Y.R. 654. B.C. 98.—Marcus Aquillius, accused of extortion, refuses to implore the favour of the judges appointed to try him; whereupon Marcus Antonius, his advocate, cuts open his vest, and show the scars of his honourable wounds, received in front; upon sight of which he is immediately acquitted. This fact is related upon the authority of Cicero, only. Y.R. 655. B.C. 97.—Successful expedition of Didius, the proconsul, against the Celtiberians. Y.R. 656. B.C. 96.—Ptolemy, King of Cyrene, dies; bequeaths his kingdom to the Roman people: the senate decrees that the cities shall be free. Y.R. 657. B.C. 95.—Ariobarzanes restored to his kingdom of Cappadocia, by Lucius Sylla. Ambassadors from Arsaces, King of Parthia, come to Sylla, to solicit the friendship of the Roman people. Y.R. 658. B.C. 94.—Publius Rutilius, a man of the strictest integrity, having exerted himself, when lieutenant-general under Quintus Mucius, proconsul, to protect the people of Asia from the oppression of the revenue farmers, becomes odious, on that account, to the equestrian order, who had the cognisance of affairs of that nature; is brought to trial, and condemned to exile. Y.R. 659. B.C. 93.—Caius Geminius, prætor, unfortunate in an expedition against the Thracians. Y.R. 660. B.C. 92.—The senate, disgusted by the many abuses committed by the equestrian order in the exercise of their jurisdiction, endeavour to bring that jurisdiction into their own hands; they are supported by Marcus Livius Drusus, plebeian tribune; who, in order to gain the people, holds out to them the pernicious hope of a pecuniary gratification. Commotions in Syria.

BOOK LXXI.

Y.R. 661. B.C. 91.—Marcus Livius Drusus, plebeian tribune, in order the more effectually to support the senate in their pretensions, engages the concurrence of the allies, and the Italian states, by promising them the freedom of the city. Aided by them, besides the Agrarian and corn laws, he carries that, also, relative to criminal jurisdiction;—that in capital prosecutions the senate should have equal authority with the equestrian order. It is afterwards found that the freedom which he had promised, cannot be conferred upon them; which incenses and incites them to revolt. An account of their assembling; their combinations and speeches made at their meetings, by the chief men among them. Drusus becomes obnoxious to the senate, on account of his conduct in this affair; is considered as the cause of the social war; is slain in his own house by an unknown hand.

BOOK LXXII.

The Italian states, the Picentians, Vestinians, Marcians, Peligniens, Marrucinians, Samnites, and Lucanians, revolt. The war begins with the Picentians. Quintus Servilius, proconsul, murdered, in the town of Asculum, and all the Roman citizens in the place. The whole body of the Roman people assume the military dress. Servius Galba, taken by the Lucanians, escapes, by the assistance of a woman with whom he lodged. Y.R. 662. B.C. 90.—Æsernia and Alba, besieged by the Italians. Aid sent to the Romans, by the Latines, and other foreign nations. Military operations, expeditions, and sieges, on both sides.

BOOK LXXIII.

The consul, Lucius Julius Cæsar, engages the Samnites unsuccessfully. The colony of Nola falls into the hands of the Samnites, together with Lucius Postumius, the prætor, whom they kill. Many different states go over to the enemy. Publius Rutilius slain in an engagement with the Marcians; Caius Marius, his lieutenant-general, fights them with better success. Servius Sulpicius defeats the Pelignians, in a pitched battle. Quintus Cæpio, Rutilius's lieutenant-general, makes a successful sally against the enemy besieging him: on account of which success, he is made equal in command to Marius; becomes adventurous and rash; is surprised in an ambuscade, his army routed, and himself slain. Successes of the consul Lucius Cæsar against the Samnites; on account of his conquests, the inhabitants of Rome lay aside the military habit. The war carried on with various success. Æsernia, with Marcellus, falls into the hands of the Samnites; Caius Marius vanquishes the Marcians, and kills Herius Asinius, the prætor of the Marrucinians. Caius Cæcilius subdues the rebellious Salvians in Transalpine Gaul.

BOOK LXXIV.

Cneius Pompeius defeats the Picentians, and lays siege to their town; on account of this victory, the inhabitants of Rome resume their purple robes, other usual ornaments of dress, and distinguishing marks of magistracy. Caius Marius fights an undecided battle with the Marcians. Freedmen's sons now, for the first time, received into the army. Y.R. 663. B.C. 89.—Aulus Plotius subdues the Umbrians, and Lucius Porcius the Marcians, both of whom had revolted. Nicomedes restored to the kingdom of

Bithynia, and Ariobarzanes, to that of Cappadocia. Cneius Pompeius, consul, overthrows the Marcians in a pitched battle. The citizens being deeply involved in debt, Aulus Sempronius Asellio, prætor, is murdered in the Forum, by the usurers, in consequence of some judgments given by him in favour of debtors. Incursion of the Thracians, and devastations committed by them against the Macedonians.

BOOK LXXV.

Aulus Postumius Albinus, commander of a fleet, upon a suspicion of treachery, murdered by the forces under his command. Lucius Cornelius Sylla, lieutenant-general, defeats the Samnites, and takes two of their camps. The Vestinians surrender to Cneius Pompeius. Lucius Porcius, consul, having been successful in frequent engagements with the Marcians, slain in an attack upon their camp, which circumstance decides the victory in favour of the enemy. Cosconius and Lucius overthrow the Samnites in a battle, slay Marius Egnatius, the most distinguished of their generals, and receive the surrender of many of their towns. Lucius Sylla subdues the Hirpinians, defeats the Samnites in many battles, and receives the submission of several states; in consequence of having performed so many distinguished services, he repairs to Rome to solicit the consulship.

BOOK LXXVI.

Aulus Gabinius defeats the Lucanians, and takes several of their towns; is slain in an attack on their camp. Sulpicius, a lieutenant-general, commits military execution on the Marrucinians, and reduces their whole country. Cneius Pompeius, proconsul, forces the Vestinians and Peligni-ans to submission. Also the Marcians, defeated in several battles, by Lucius Murena and Cæcilius Pius, sue for peace. Y.R. 664. B.C. 88.—Asculum taken by Cneius Pompeius, and the Italians, there, put to death by Mamercus Æmilius. Silo Pompædius, the author of the revolt, killed in an action. Ariobarzanes, King of Cappadocia, and Nicomedes, King of Bithynia, driven out of their kingdoms by Mithridates, King of Pontus. Predatory incursions of the Thracians into Macedonia.

BOOK LXXVII.

Publius Sulpicius, tribune of the people, (having, with the aid of Caius Marius, carried certain laws: that those who had been banished, should be recalled; that the newly-created citizens, and the sons of freedmen, should be distributed among the tribes, and that Caius Marius should be appointed

general against Mithridates,) commits violence against Quintus Pompeius and Lucius Sylla, the consuls, who had opposed these proceedings; kills Quintus, the son of Pompeius, who was married to Sylla's daughter. Lucius Sylla comes into the town with an army, and fights the faction of Sulpicius and Marius, in the city; he gets the better of them, and drives them out. Twelve of them, among whom are Caius Marius the father, and his son, condemned by the senate. Publius Sulpicius, having concealed himself in a farm house, in the neighbourhood, is discovered by one of his slaves, apprehended, and put to death. The slave being entitled to the reward promised to the discoverer, is made free; and is then thrown from the Tarpeian rock, for having traitorously betrayed his master. Caius Marius, the son, passes over into Africa. Caius Marius, the father, having concealed himself in the marshes of Minturna, is seized by the towns-people: a Gallic slave, sent to despatch him, terrified at his majestic appearance, retires, unable to accomplish the deed; he is sent off to Africa. Lucius Sylla makes a considerable reform in the state; sends forth several colonies. Cneius Pompeius, proconsul, procures the murder of Quintus Pompeius, the consul, who was to have succeeded him in the command of the army. Mithridates, King of Pontus, seizes Bithynia and Cappadocia, having driven thence the Roman general, Aquillius; at the head of a great army enters Phrygia, a province belonging to the Roman people.

LXXVIII.

Mithridates possesses himself of Asia; throws into chains Quintus Oppius, the proconsul, and Aquillius, the general; orders all the Romans in Asia, to be massacred on the same day; attacks the city of Rhodes, the only one which had retained its fidelity to the Roman state. Being overcome in several actions at sea, he retreats. Y.R. 665. B.C. 87.—Archelaus, one of the King's governors, invades Greece; takes Athens. Commotions in several states and islands, some endeavouring to draw over their people to the side of the Romans, others to that of Mithridates.

BOOK LXXIX.

Lucius Cornelius Sylla, having by force of arms, procured the enacting of several injurious laws, is driven out of the city by his colleague, Cneius Octavius, together with six plebeian tribunes. Thus deposed from his authority, he procures the command of the army under Appius Claudius, by bribery, and makes war upon the city, having called to his assistance, Caius Marius, and other exiles, from Africa. In this war, two brothers, (one of Pompeius's army, the other of Cinna's,) encounter each other, without knowing it; the

conqueror, upon stripping the other, whom he had slain, discovers who he is, whereupon, in the agony of grief, he kills himself. Having erected a funeral-pile for his brother, is, himself, consumed in the same flames. This war might easily have been suppressed, in the beginning, but is kept up by the artifices of Pompeius, who underhand encouraged both parties, and kept himself aloof, till much of the best blood in the state was spilt: the consul, also, was singularly languid and negligent. Cinna and Marius, with four armies, two of which were commanded by Sertorius and Carbo, lay siege to the city. Marius takes Ostia, which he plunders in the most cruel manner.

BOOK LXXX.

The freedom of the city of Rome granted to the Italian states. The Samnites, the only people who continue in arms, join Cinna and Marius, and overthrow Plautius's army, killing the general. Cinna and Marius seize the Janiculum; repelled by the consul Octavius. Marius plunders Antium, Aricia, and Lanuvium. The principal men in the state, having now no hope of resisting, on account of the cowardice and treachery of their troops and of the commanders, (most of whom had been gained by bribes,) receive Cinna and Marius into the city. As if it were a captured place, they murder great numbers of the inhabitants, and plunder others in the most cruel manner. They put to death the consul Cneius Octavius, and all the chiefs of the opposite party; among others, Marcus Antonius, a man highly distinguished for his eloquence, with Lucius and Caius Cæsar, whose heads they stick up on the rostrum. The younger Crassus slain by a party of horsemen at Fimbria; his father, to escape suffering indignity, kills himself. Cinna and Marius, without even the formality of an election, declare themselves consuls. The first day of their entering upon office, Marius, after having committed very many atrocious acts, dies, on the ides of January; a man, whom, if we compare his vices with his virtues, it will be difficult to pronounce whether he were greater in war, or more wicked in peace. Having preserved his country by his valour, he ruined it afterwards, by every species of artifice and fraud; and finally, destroyed it by open force.

BOOK LXXXI.

Y.R. 666. B.C. 86.—Lucius Sylla besieges Athens, held by Archelaus, under Mithridates, and takes it, after an obstinate resistance: the city, and such of the inhabitants as remained alive, restored to liberty. Magnesia,

the only city in Asia, which continued faithful, defended against Mithridates, with great valour. The Thracians invade Macedonia.

BOOK LXXXII.

Sylla defeats Mithridates in Thessaly, killing one hundred thousand men, and taking their camp. The war being renewed, he entirely routs and destroys the King's army. Archelaus, with the royal fleet, surrenders to Sylla. Lucius Valerius Flaccus, Cinna's colleague in the consulship, appointed to succeed Sylla, in the command of his army, becomes so odious to his men, on account of his avarice, that he is slain by Caius Fimbria, his lieutenant-general, a man of consummate audacity, who, thereupon, assumes the command. Several cities in Asia taken by Mithridates, who treats them with extreme cruelty. Invasion of Macedonia by the Thracians.

BOOK LXXXIII.

Y.R. 667. B.C. 85.—Caius Fimbrias having defeated several of Mithridates's generals in Asia, takes the city of Pergamus, and is very near making the King captive. He takes and destroys the city of Ilion, which adhered to Sylla, and recovers a great part of Asia. Sylla overcomes the Thracians in several battles. Lucius Cinna and Cneius Papirius Carbo, having declared themselves consuls, make preparations for war against Sylla; Lucius Valerius Flaccus moves the senate, and, assisted by those who were desirous of peace, prevails, that a deputation should be sent to Sylla, to treat of terms. Cinna, attempting to force his men to embark and go against Sylla, is slain by them. Y.R. 668. B.C. 84.—Carbo sole consul. Sylla makes peace, in Asia, with Mithridates, upon condition that the King shall evacuate Asia, Bithynia, and Cappadocia. Fimbria, deserted by his army, which went over to Sylla, puts himself to death.

BOOK LXXXIV.

Sylla answers the deputies, that he would yield to the authority of the senate, upon condition that those who, being banished by Cinna, had fled to him, should be restored: which proposition appears reasonable to the senate, but is opposed and rejected by Carbo, and his faction, who conceive that they may derive more advantage from a continuance of the war. Carbo, requiring hostages from all the towns and colonies of Italy, to bind them more firmly in union against Sylla, is over-ruled by the senate. The right of voting given to the new citizens, by a decree of the senate. Quin-

tus Metellus Pius, who had taken part with the chief men of the state, prepares for war in Africa; is crushed by Caius Fabius, the prætor. Y.R. 669. B.C. 83.—Carbo's faction and the Marian party procure a decree of the senate, that the armies shall every where be disbanded. The sons of freedmen distributed among the thirty-five tribes. Preparations for war against Sylla.

BOOK LXXXV.

Sylla enters Italy, at the head of an army; his ambassadors ill treated by Norbanus, the consul, whom he afterwards defeats in battle. Having, ineffectually, tried every means with Lucius Scipio, the other consul, to bring about a peace, he prepares to attack his camp, when the consul's whole army, seduced by some of his soldiers, who had insinuated themselves among them, desert to him in a body. Having Scipio in his power, he sets him free, when he might have killed him. Cneius Pompeius, the son of Pompeius who took Asculum, raises an army of volunteers, and goes over to Sylla, with three legions: also, the whole body of the nobility quit the city, and join his camp. Sundry actions in different parts of Italy.

BOOK LXXXVI.

Y.R. 670. B.C. 82.—Caius Marius, son of Caius Marius, made consul, by force, before he was twenty years old. Caius Fabius burned alive in his tent, in Africa, for his avarice and extortion. Lucius Philippus, Sylla's lieutenant-general, having overthrown and killed the prætor Quintus Antonius, takes Sardinia. Sylla, in order to conciliate the different Italian states, makes a league with them, contracting, not to deprive them of the city, and the right of voting lately conferred upon them. So confident is he of the victory, that he publishes an order, that all suitors, bound by sureties, should make their appearance at Rome, although the city was yet in the possession of the opposite party. Lucius Damasippus, the prætor, having called together the senate, at the desire of Marius, murders what remains of the nobility in the city; among them, Quintus Mucius Scævola, the high priest, endeavouring to make his escape, is killed in the vestibule of the temple of Vesta. The war in Asia, against Mithridates, renewed by Lucius Muræna.

BOOK LXXXVII.

Sylla, having subdued and destroyed Caius Marius's army, at Sacriportus, lays siege to Præneste, where Marius had taken refuge; recovers Rome, out of the hands of his enemies. Marius attempting to break forth

from Prænestе, is repelled. Successes of the different commanders under him, every where.

BOOK LXXXVIII.

Sylla, having routed and cut off the army of Carbo, at Clusium, Faventia, and Fidentia, drives him entirely out of Italy; fights and overthrows the Samnites, the only nation in Italy which still continued in arms. Having restored the affairs of the commonwealth, he stains his glorious victory with the most atrocious cruelties ever committed; he murders eight thousand men, in the Villa Publica, who had submitted and laid down their arms, and publishes a list of persons proscribed: he fills with blood the city of Rome, and all Italy. All the Prænestines, without exception, although they had laid down their arms, he orders to be murdered: he kills Marius, a senator, by breaking his legs and arms, cutting off his ears, and scooping out his eyes. Caius Marius, besieged at Prænestе, by Lucretius Asella, and other partisans of Sylla, endeavours to escape through a mine; failing in which attempt he kills himself.

BOOK LXXXIX.

Lucius Brutus sent, in a fishing-boat, from Cossura, by Cneius Papirius Carbo, to Lilybæum, to discover if Pompeius were there, is surrounded by some of Pompeius's vessels, whereupon he destroys himself. Cneius Pompeius, sent by the senate to Sicily, with full powers, takes Carbo prisoner, and puts him to death, who dies weeping with womanly weakness. Sylla made dictator; assumes a state never before seen, walking, preceded by twenty-four lictors. He establishes many new regulations in the state; abridges the authority of the plebeian tribunes; takes from them entirely the power of proposing laws; increases the college of priests and augurs to fifteen; fills up the senate from the equestrian order; takes from the descendants of the proscribed persons all power of reclaiming the property of their ancestors, and sells such of their effects as had not been already confiscated, to the amount of one hundred and fifty millions of sesterces. He orders Lucretius Ofella to be put to death in the Forum, for having declared himself a candidate for the consulship, without having previously obtained his permission; at which the people of Rome being offended, he calls a meeting, and tells them, that Ofella was slain by his orders. Y.R. 671. B.C. 81.—Cneius Pompeius vanquishes and kills Cneius Domitius, one of the proscribed persons, in Africa; also Hiarbas, King of Numidia, who was making preparations for war. He triumphs over Africa, although

not more than twenty-four years of age, and only of equestrian rank, which never happened to any man before. Caius Norbonus, of consular rank, being proscribed, seeks safety at Rhodes, where, being discovered, he kills himself. Mutilus, one of the proscribed, coming privately and in disguise, to the back door of his wife Bastia's house, she refuses to admit him, telling him that he was a forbidden man, whereupon he stabs himself, and sprinkles the door of his wife's house with his blood. Sylla takes Nola, a city of the Samnites. Y.R. 672. B.C. 80.—He leads forth forty-seven legions, into the conquered lands, and divides them among them. Y.R. 673. B.C. 79.—He besieges and takes the town of Volaterra; he demolishes likewise Mitylene, the only town in Asia which continued to adhere to Mithridates.

BOOK XC.

Y.R. 674. B.C. 78.—Death of Sylla; he is buried in the Campus Martius, by a decree of the senate. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, by attempting to rescind the acts of Sylla, raises new commotions; is driven out of Italy, by his colleague, Quintus Catulus; endeavouring to excite a war in Sardinia, he loses his life. Y.R. 675. B.C. 77.—Marcus Brutus, who held possession of Cisalpine Gaul, slain by Cneius Pompeius. Quintus Sertorius, one of the proscribed, raises a formidable war in the Farther Spain. Lucius Manilius, proconsul, and Marcus Domitius, overthrown in a battle by the quæstor Herculeius. Expedition of the proconsul, Publius Servilius, against the Cilicians.

BOOK XCI.

Cneius Pompeius, while yet only of equestrian rank, sent against Sertorius with consular authority. Sertorius takes several cities, and reduces many others to submission. The proconsul, Appius Claudius, conquers the Thracians in several battles. Y.R. 676. B.C. 76.—Quintus Metellus, proconsul, cuts off Herculeius, with his whole army.

BOOK XCII.

Cneius Pompeius fights an undecided battle with Sertorius, the wings on each side being reciprocally beaten. Quintus Metellus conquers Sertorius and Peperna, with both their armies; Pompeius, desirous of having a share in this victory, engages in the action, but without success. Sertorius, besieged in Clunia, makes frequent sallies, to the great loss of

the besiegers. Y.R. 677. B.C. 75.—Successful expedition of Curio, the proconsul, against the Dardanians. Cruelties of Sertorius, against his own partisans, many of whom he puts to death, upon pretended suspicion of treachery.

BOOK XCIII.

Publius Servilius, proconsul in Cilicia, subdues the Isaurians, and takes several cities belonging to the pirates. Nicomedes King of Bithynia, dying, bequeaths his dominions to the Roman people, who reduce them into the form of a province. Y.R. 678. B.C. 74.—Mithridates establishes a league with Sertorius, and declares war against Rome; makes vast preparations, both of land and sea forces, and seizes Bithynia. Marcus Aurelius Cotta overcome in an action by the King at Chalcedon. Pompeius and Metellus conduct the war against Sertorius, who proves fully equal to them in the military arts. Sertorius raises the siege of Calgurius, and compels them to retreat into different countries. Metellus into the Farther Spain, Pompeius into Gaul.

BOOK XCIV.

Lucius Licinius Lucullus, consul, defeats Mithridates, in an action between their cavalry, and makes several successful expeditions; a mutiny among his soldiers, arising from an eager desire of fighting, repressed. Deiotarus, tetrarch of Gallogræcia, kills certain officers of Mithridates, who were stirring up war in Phrygia. Successes of Pompeius, against Sertorius, in Spain.

BOOK XCV.

Y.R. 679. B.C. 73.—Caius Curio, proconsul, subdues the Dardanians, in Thrace. Seventy-four gladiators, belonging to Lentulus, make their escape from Capua; having collected a great number of slaves and hired servants, and putting themselves under the command of Crixus and Spartacus, they attack and defeat Claudius Pulcher, a lieutenant-general, and Publius Varenus, prætor. Lucius Lucullus, proconsul, destroys the army of Mithridates, by the sword and famine, at Cyzicus; that King, driven from Bithynia, having suffered much, in several engagements and shipwrecks, is, at length, obliged to fly to Pontus.

XCVI.

Y.R. 680. B.C. 72.—Quintus Arrius, the prætor, defeats and kills Crixus, the commander of the fugitive gladiators. Cneius Lentulus, the consul, engages Spartacus unsuccessfully, who also defeats Lucius Gellius, the consul, and Quintus Arrius, the prætor. Sertorius slain, at a feast, in the eighth year of his command, by Manius Antonius, Marcus Peperna, and other conspirators: he was a great general, and being opposed to two commanders, Pompeius and Metellus, was often equal, and sometimes even superior, to both of them; at last, being deserted and betrayed, the command of his force devolved upon Peperna, whom Pompeius took prisoner and slew, and recovered Spain, towards the close of the tenth year of that war. Spartacus gains another victory over Caius Cassius, the proconsul, and Cneius Manlius, the prætor; the charge of that war committed to the prætor, Marcus Crassus.

BOOK XCVII.

Y.R. 681. B.C. 71.—Marcus Crassus, the prætor, engages with and defeats an army of the fugitives, consisting of Gauls and Germans, killing thirty-five thousand of them, together with their general, Granicus; afterwards, he fights Spartacus, whom he conquers, killing him and forty thousand men. The war against the Cretans, unfortunately undertaken, finishes with the death of the prætor, Marcus Antonius. Marcus Lucullus, proconsul, subdues the Thracians. Lucius Lucullus gives battle to Mithridates, in Pontus; overcomes him, killing sixty thousand men. Y.R. 682. B.C. 70.—Marcus Crassus and Cneius Pompeius, elected consuls; the latter being only of the equestrian order, not having yet served the office of quæstor; they restore the tribunitian power. The right of trial transferred to the Roman knights, by the prætor, Lucius Aurelius Cotta. The affairs of Mithridates being reduced to a state of desperation, he flies for refuge to Tigranes, King of Armenia.

BOOK XCVIII.

A treaty of friendship made by Machares, son of Mithridates, King of Bosphorus, with Lucius Lucullus. Cneius Lentulus and Caius Galius, censors, exercise their office with extreme rigour; they expel sixty-four senators. The lustrum closed: the number of citizens amounts to four hundred and fifty thousand. Y.R. 683. B.C. 69.—Lucius Metellus, prætor, is

successful against the pirates in Sicily. The temple of Jupiter in the Capitol, having been consumed by fire, rebuilt, and dedicated by Quintus Catulus. Y.R. 684. B.C. 68.—Lucius Lucullus defeats Mithridates and Tigranes, with their vast armies, in Armenia, in several battles. The war against the Cretans being committed to the charge of the proconsul, Quintus Metellus, he lays siege to the city of Cydonia. Y.R. 685. B.C. 67.—Lucius Triarius, a lieutenant-general of Lucullus, defeated in a battle against Mithridates. Lucullus prevented, by a sedition in his army, from pursuing Mithridates and Tigranes, and completing his victory; the principal authors of the sedition were the Valerian legions, who refused to follow Lucullus, alleging that they had served out their time.

BOOK XCIX.

The proconsul, Quintus Metellus, takes Gnossus, Lyctum, Cydonia, and many other cities. Lucius Roscius, plebeian tribune, carries a law, that the fourteen lower seats in the theatre shall be allotted to the Roman knights. Cneius Pompeius, being ordered by a law, which had the sanction of the people, to proceed against the pirates, who had interrupted the commerce of corn, in forty days drives them wholly from the sea; and having finished the war against them in Cilicia, reduces them to submission, and assigns them lands and towns. Successes of Metellus against the Cretans. Letters between Metellus and Pompeius. Metellus complains, that Pompeius had treated him injuriously, in sending a deputy of his own to receive the submission of the Cretans: Pompeius alleges, that he had a right to do so.

BOOK C.

Y.R. 686. B.C. 66.—Caius Manilius, tribune of the people, to the great dissatisfaction of the nobility, proposes, that the Mithridatic war should be committed to the conduct of Pompeius. His excellent speech upon that occasion. Quintus Metellus, having subdued Crete, imposes laws upon that hitherto free island. Cneius Pompeius, setting out for the war against Mithridates, renews the treaty of friendship with Phraates, King of Parthia; overcomes Mithridates in an engagement between their cavalry. War between Phraates, King of Parthia, and Tigranes, King of Armenia; afterwards, between the father and son Tigranes.

BOOK CI.

Cneius Pompeius vanquishes Mithridates, in a battle fought in the night, and compels him to fly to Bosphorus; reduces Tigranes to submission, taking from him, Syria, Phœnicia, and Cilicia; restores to him his own kingdom of Armenia. A conspiracy to murder the consuls suppressed; the authors of it were certain persons, who had been convicted of unlawful practices, when candidates for the consulship. Y.R. 687. B.C. 65.—Pompeius pursues Mithridates into remote, and even unknown, regions; he fights and conquers the Iberians and Albanians, who had refused him a passage through their territories. Mithridates flies to the Colchians and Heniochians; his transactions at Bosphorus.

BOOK CII.

Pompeius reduces Pontus to the form of a Roman province. Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, makes war upon his father. Mithridates, besieged in his palace, takes poison, which not producing the desired effect, he procures himself to be slain by a Gaul, named Bituitus. Pompeius conquers the Jews, and takes their temple, hitherto unviolated. Y.R. 688. B.C. 64.—Catiline, having twice failed in his pursuit of the consulship, forms a conspiracy, with Lentulus, Cethegus, and others, to destroy the consuls and the senate, to burn the city, and seize the commonwealth; he raises an army in Etruria: Y.R. 689. B.C. 63.—the conspiracy is discovered and frustrated by the exertions of Marcus Tullius Cicero the consul. Catiline is driven out of Rome; the other conspirators punished with death.

BOOK CIII.

Y.R. 690. B.C. 62.—Catiline's army vanquished, and himself slain, by the proconsul, Caius Antonius. Publius Clodius accused of having entered a chapel, disguised in woman's apparel, which it was not lawful for a man to enter; and of having defiled the wife of the high-priest; acquitted. Caius Pontinius, prætor, subdues the Allobrogians, who had rebelled. Publius Clodius joins the party of the people. Y.R. 691. B.C. 61.—Caius Cæsar subdues the Lusitanians: being a candidate for the consulship, and determined to seize the power of the commonwealth into his own hands, he forms a party with two of the principal men of the state, Marcus Antonius and Marcus Crassus. Y.R. 692. B.C. 60.—Cæsar, now consul, procures the passing of some Agrarian laws, contrary to the will of the senate, and

notwithstanding the opposition of his colleague, Marcus Bibulus. Y.R. 693. B.C. 59.—Caius Antonius, proconsul, defeated in Thrace. Y.R. 694. B.C. 58.—Marcus Cicero banished, in consequence of a law procured by Publius Clodius, for having put to death Roman citizens uncondemned. Cæsar goes into the province of Gaul, where he subdues the Helvetians, a wandering tribe, who, seeking a place of settlement, attempted to pass through Narbo, a part of his province. Description and situation of Gaul. Pompeius triumphs over the children of Mithridates and Tigranes, the father and son; the surname of the Great conferred upon him by a full assembly of the people.

BOOK CIV.

Situation of Germany; description of that country, and of the people. Caius Cæsar, at the request of the Æduans and Sequanians, leads his army against the Germans, who had invaded Gaul, under the command of Ariovistus; he rouses the courage of his soldiers, who were alarmed at the unusual appearance of these new enemies; he then defeats the Germans in an engagement, and drives them out of Gaul. Y.R. 695. BC. 57.—Marcus Tullius Cicero, to the great joy of the senate, and of all Italy, recalled from banishment, chiefly by the persuasion of Pompeius, aided by Titus Annius Milo, plebeian tribune, who also argued in his favour. The charge of providing corn for the city committed to Cneius Pompeius, for five years. Cæsar overcomes in battle the Ambians, Suessians, Veromanduans, and Atrebatians, a people of the Belgians, whose numbers were immense, and reduces them all to subjection. He afterwards, at great risk, engages the Nervians, a people belonging to one of the above states, and entirely cuts them off: this war they continued, with such obstinacy, that their army was reduced from sixty thousand men to three hundred, and, of four hundred senators, only three remained alive. A law made to reduce Cyprus to the form of a province, and to confiscate the royal treasure; the management of that business committed to Marcus Cato. Y.R. 696. B.C. 56.—Ptolemy, ill-treated by his subjects, and dethroned, comes to Rome. Caius Cæsar defeats the Venetians, a people living on the borders of the sea, in a sea-fight. Successful expeditions of his lieutenants-general.

BOOK CV.

Caius Cato, tribune of the people, persists in preventing the holding of the elections; on which the senate goes into mourning. Y.R. 697. B.C.

55.—Marcus Cato, a candidate for the prætorship, loses the election, Vatinius carrying it against him. The same Cato committed to prison, by the tribune, Trebonius, for resisting the law allotting the provinces, for five years: to Cæsar, Gaul and Germany; to Pompeius, Spain; and to Crassus, Syria, and the Parthian war. Aulus Gabinius, proconsul, restores Ptolemy to his kingdom of Egypt, dethroning Archelaus, whom the people had elected king. Y.R. 698. B.C. 54.—Cæsar, having vanquished the Germans, who had invaded Gaul, passes the Rhine, and subdues them also in those parts: he then crosses the sea, and, having suffered much from tempests, invades Britain; where, having killed a considerable number of the inhabitants, he reduces a part of the island to subjection.

BOOK CVI.

Julia, Cæsar's daughter, and wife of Pompeius, dies; by a vote of the people, she is honoured with burial in the Campus Martius. Certain tribes of the Gauls revolt, and put themselves under the command of Ambiorix; they ensnare, and cut off, Cotta and Titurius, lieutenants-general under Cæsar, with the armies under their command: having attacked other legions, who with difficulty defended their camps, and, among the rest, Quintus Cicero, they are at length defeated by Cæsar himself. Y.R. 699. B.C. 53.—Marcus Crassus crosses the Euphrates, to make war upon the Parthians, and is overthrown in a battle, in which his son is killed; having collected the remains of his army upon a rising ground, a conference, to treat of peace, is proposed; at which he is seized by a party under the command of Surenas; to avoid suffering any indignity, he makes such resistance as obliges them to put him to death.

BOOK CVII.

Caius Cæsar, having subdued the Trevirian Gauls, passes over a second time into Germany; finding no enemy there, he returns to Gaul, and reduces to obedience the Eburones, and other cities, which had revolted. Titus Annius Milo, a candidate for the consulship, kills Publius Clodius, on the Appian road, near Bovillæ, whose body the people burn in the curia. Y.R. 700. B.C. 52.—The candidates for the consulship, Hypsæus, Scipio, and Milo, carry on their contention with so much rancour, as to come to open violence, which excites a seditious tumult. To repress these enormities, Cneius Pompeius is, a third time, elected consul, in his absence, and without a colleague,—a circumstance which never occurred before. Milo tried for the murder of Clodius, and condemned to banishment. A

law made, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of Marcus Cato, to empower Cæsar to stand for the consulship, though absent. Cæsar's operations against the Gauls, who had, almost all, revolted, and put themselves under the command of Vercingetorix; he takes many towns; amongst others, Avaricum, Biturium, and Gergovia.

BOOK CVIII.

Cæsar overthrows the Gauls at Alesia, and reduces all the revolted cities to subjection. Caius Cassius, Marcus Crassus's quæstor, defeats the Parthians who had passed over into Syria. Y.R. 701. B.C. 51.—M. Cato fails in his pursuit of the consulship; the successful candidates being Servius Sulpicius and Marcus Marcellus. Cæsar subdues the Bellovacians, and other Gallic tribes. Disputes between the consuls, concerning the sending out a person to succeed Cæsar; Marcellus contends that Cæsar should come home to sue for the consulship, being, by a law made expressly for that purpose, enabled to hold his province until that period. Exploits of Marcus Bibulus in Syria.

BOOK CIX.

Y.R. 702. B.C. 50.—Causes and beginning of the civil war: disputes about sending a successor to Cæsar, who refuses to disband his army, unless Pompeius shall also do the same. Y.R. 703. B.C. 49.—Caius Curio, plebeian tribune, takes an active part; first, against Cæsar, afterwards, in his favour. A decree of the senate being passed, that a successor to Cæsar should be appointed, Marcus Antonius and Quintus Cassius are driven out of the city, for protesting against that measure. Orders sent by the senate to the consuls, and to Cneius Pompeius, to take care that the commonwealth should sustain no injury. Cæsar, determined to make war upon his enemies, arrives in Italy with his army: he takes Corsinium, and in it Lucius Domitius and Lucius Lentulus, whom he discharges: drives Cneius Pompeius, and his adherents, out of Italy.

BOOK CX.

Cæsar besieges Massilia, the gates of which had been shut against him; leaving his lieutenants-general, Caius Trebonius and Decius Brutus, to carry on the siege, he sets out for Spain, where Lucius Afranius and Caius Petreius, Pompeius's lieutenants-general, with seven legions, surrender to him at Ilerda: he dismisses them all in safety. He also reduces to sub-

mission Varro, another lieutenant-general of Pompeius, with the army under his command. He grants the privileges of Roman citizens to the Gaditanians. The Massilians defeated in two engagements at sea; after having sustained a long siege, they yield to Cæsar. Caius Antonius, a lieutenant-general of Cæsar, makes an unsuccessful attack upon Pompeius's forces in Illyria, and is taken prisoner. In the course of this war, the inhabitants of Opitergium, a district beyond the Po, in alliance with Cæsar, seeing their bridge blocked up by the enemy's ships, rather than fall into their hands, kill one another. Caius Curio, one of Cæsar's lieutenants-general in Africa, after a successful engagement of Varus, a general of the Pompeian party, attacked and cut off, together with his army, by Juba, King of Mauritania. Caius Cæsar passes over into Greece.

BOOK CXI.

Y.R. 704. B.C. 48.—Marcus Cælius Rufus, prætor, having excited a sedition in the city, by holding out hopes to the people, that their debts should be annulled, turned out of his office, and driven from the city; he joins Milo, who, being in exile, was raising an army of fugitives: they are both slain. Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt, dethroned by her brother Ptolemy. The Cordubians, in Spain harassed by the extortion and oppression of the prætor Quintus Cassius, desert Cæsar's party, together with two legions. Cneius Pompeius besieged by Cæsar at Dyrrachium; beating him out of his lines, the siege is raised. The seat of war removed to Thessaly: Cæsar overcomes Pompeius in a battle at Pharsalia. Cicero remains in the camp, —a man without any kind of talent for war. Cæsar grants a free pardon to all who submit themselves to his power.

BOOK CXII.

Consternation and flight of the vanquished party, in all parts of the world. Pompeius, endeavouring to escape into Ægypt, is slain, before he could get on shore, by order of Ptolemy, the King, a minor, upon the persuasion of Theodotus, his governor. Cornelia, his wife, and Sextus, his son, fly to Cyprus. Cæsar follows him, three days after his victory; upon being presented with the ring of Pompey by Theodotus, he is highly offended with him for putting him to death, and laments his fate with tears. Y.R. 705. B.C. 47.—Cæsar enters Alexandria in safety, notwithstanding that city was in a state of tumult. Cæsar created dictator; restores Cleopatra to her throne; and defeats Ptolemy with great slaughter, who had made war upon him by the advice of those who had caused him to put Pompeius to

death. Ptolemy, in his flight, driven on shore, in his vessel, in the Nile. Laborious march of Marcus Cato, with his legions, through vast tracts of desart country. Unsuccessful war of Domitius against Pharnaces.

BOOK CXIII.

The Pompeian party having collected their forces in Africa, the command in chief is given to Publius Scipio,—Marcus Cato, who had been joined with him in the command, giving up. When it was deliberated, in council, whether the city of Utica should not be demolished, on account of its attachment to Cæsar, Cato opposes that measure, which was strongly recommended by Juba. Cato's opinion prevailing, he is appointed governor of the city. Cneius Pompeius, the son of Pompeius the Great, having collected some forces in Spain, which neither Afranius nor Petreius would take the command of, puts himself at the head of them, and renews the war there. Pharnaces, King of Pontus, son of Mithridates, after supporting the war but a very short time, is subdued. A sedition excited in Rome by Publius Dolabella, a plebeian tribune, who moved for a law to extinguish the debts of the people. Marcus Antonius, master of the horse, brings troops into the town, and kills eight hundred of the people. Cæsar discharges the veteran soldiers, who were grown mutinous: crosses over into Africa, and engages the forces of King Juba, in a very hazardous combat.

BOOK CXIV.

Y.R. 706. B.C. 406.—Cæcilius Bassus, a Roman knight of the Pompeian party, stirs up war in Syria: the legion left there, under the command of Sextus Cæsar, having slain their commander, and revolted to Bassus. Cæsar defeats the prætor Scipio, Afranius, and Juba, at Thapsus, and takes their camps. Cato, hearing of this disaster, stabs himself at Utica; his son coming in, forces him to consent to have his wound dressed; but he, afterwards, tears away the dressing, and expires, in the forty-ninth year of his age. Petreius also puts Juba and himself to death. Publius Scipio also, his ship being overpowered, slays himself, having said to those who inquired after the General, "The General is well." Faustus and Afranius slain. Cato's son is pardoned. Brutus, Cæsar's lieutenant-general, gives battle to the rebellious Bellovacians, and overcomes them.

BOOK CXV.

Cæsar triumphs four times: over Gaul, Egypt, Pontus, and Africa. He gives a feast, and exhibits shows of every description. To Marcus Marcellus, a man of consular rank, he grants leave to return; but he is murdered

mission Varro, another lieutenant-general of Pompey, holds a census; der his command. He grants the privileges of [illegible] thousand. Y.R. ditanians. The Massilians defeated in two engagements by Pompey; where, after ing sustained a long siege, they yield to Cæsar. victory, after a most tenant-general of Cæsar, makes an unsuccessful attempt upon the forces in Illyria, and is taken prisoner. The Usipetes and Tenchtheri, habitants of Opitergium, a district [illegible] seeing their bridge blocked up by the [illegible]n. Very many and high honours their hands, kill one another. neral in Africa, after a [illegible]thers, that he should be styled Father Pompeian party, attacks [illegible]also that he should be perpetual dictator. King of Mauritania. [illegible] much ground of offence by his haughtiness [illegible] senate, waiting upon him to signify the honours [illegible] find him sitting before the temple of Venus Gene- [illegible] receive them: when also Marcus Antonius, his col- Y.R. 706 [illegible]ship, running among the Lupercalians, came up to him, tion in [illegible] upon his head, he took it off, and laid it by him upon be an [illegible] turned out of their office, Epidius Marullus, and Cæsetius Fla- Mi[illegible] tribunes, for asserting that he had assumed the office of King. [illegible] by these measures, incurred the public hatred, a conspiracy was [illegible] formed against him; the chiefs of which were, Marcus Brutus and Caius Cassius; with two of his own partisans, Decius Brutus and Caius Trebonius. These kill him in the court of Pompeius, giving him three-and-twenty wounds; they then seize the Capitol. The senate passes a decree of oblivion; then the conspirators, having first received the children of Antonius and Lepidus as hostages, come down from the Capitol. Octavius, Cæsar's nephew, is, by his will, made heir of half his acquisitions. Cæsar's body burnt by the people, in the Campus Martius, opposite the rostrum. The office of dictator abolished for ever. Caius Amatius, one of the lowest of the people, giving himself out for the son of Caius Marius, excites some seditious movements among the credulous vulgar; slain.

BOOK CXVII.

Caius Octavius comes to Rome from Epirus, whither Cæsar had sent him to conduct the war in Macedonia: is received with the most auspicious omens: assumes the name of Cæsar. In the confusion and bustle of affairs, Lepidus contrives to procure his election to the office of chief priest. Marcus Antonius, consul, governs with much haughtiness, and forcibly causes a law to be passed respecting the change of provinces. Cæsar, requesting him to join in punishing the murderers of his uncle, is harshly treated by him. Cæsar, to strengthen himself, and the commonwealth

inst Antonius, applies to the veteran soldiers, who had been settled in lonies. The fourth legion also, and the Martian, declare for Cæsar Antonius. Antonius having put many to death, on mere suspicion, e revolt of very considerable numbers to Cæsar. Decius Brutus, top Antonius on his way into Cisalpine Gaul, seizes Mutina y. Attempts of both parties to get possession of the pro- tions for war.

BOOK CXVIII.

Marcus Brutus, in Greece, under the pretext of supporting the commonwealth, and the war against Antonius, manages to get the command of Vatinius's army and province. Y.R. 709. B.C. 43.—To Cæsar, who first took arms in the defence of the commonwealth, is given the command, in quality of proprætor, with the consular ornaments; he is also made a senator. Marcus Antonius besieges Brutus at Mutina; he sends deputies to Rome, to treat of peace, but without effect. The people of Rome assume the military habit. Marcus Brutus reduces Antonius and his army to submission, in Epirus.

BOOK CXIX.

Publius Dolabella circumvents Caius Trebonius in Asia, and kills him; for which crime, the senate votes Dolabella to be a public enemy. Pansa, the consul, being engaged in an action with Antonius, and in danger of being worsted, Aulus Hirtius, his colleague, arrives, routs Antonius's forces, and restores the fortune of the day. Antonius, conquered by Hirtius and Cæsar, joins Lepidus; is declared a public enemy, by the senate, together with all his associates. Aulus Hirtius, who, after his victory, was slain in the enemy's camp, and Lucius Pansa, who died of a wound received in the action, are buried in the Campus Martius. To Cæsar, the only surviving general of the three, the senate showed but little gratitude; for a tuiumph was voted to Decius Brutus, who was relieved from the siege of Mutina, by Cæsar, while they made but slight mention of Cæsar and his army: on which account he becomes reconciled to Antonius, by the intervention of Lepidus, and arrives in Rome at the head of his army; whereupon those, who before treated him with indifference, struck with fear, now elect him consul, although only in his twentieth year.

BOOK CXX.

Cæsar, consul, procures a law to be passed for an inquiry into his father's death; in consequence of which Marcus Brutus, Caius Cassius, and Decius

Brutus, are condemned, though absent. Asinius Pollio and Munatius Plancus, having joined their forces to those of Antonius, Decius Brutus, to whom the senate had given orders to pursue Antonius, being deserted by the legions under his command, flies; is killed by Capenus Sequanus, by order of Antonius, into whose hands he fell. Cæsar becomes reconciled to Antonius and Lepidus, and, in conjunction with them, assumes the entire direction of the public affairs for five years: it is agreed among them, that each shall have the power of proscribing their own particular enemies. In this proscription are included very many of the equestrian order, and one hundred and thirty senators; among whom were Lucius Paulus, the brother of Lepidus, Lucius Cæsar, Antonius's uncle, and Marcus Tullius Cicero. This last slain by Popilius, a legionary soldier, and his head and right hand stuck up on the rostrum, in the sixty-third year of his age. Transactions of Brutus in Greece.

BOOK CXXI.

Caius Cassius, having received orders from the senate to pursue Dolabella, pronounced a public enemy, by virtue of this authority takes the command in Syria, and putting himself at the head of the three armies, which were in that province, besieges Dolabella, in Laodicea, and puts him to death. Caius Antonius taken and slain, by order of Marcus Brutus.

BOOK CXXII.

Marcus Brutus unsuccessful in an engagement with the Thracians. Afterwards, all the provinces beyond sea, together with the armies in them, are brought into obedience to him and Cassius; they meet at Smyrna to hold a council relative to the conduct of the war they are about to engage in. Y.R. 710. B.C. 42.—They subdue Publicola, the brother of Marcus Messala, and agree in granting a pardon.

BOOK CXXIII.

Sextus, son of Pompey the Great, having assembled a considerable number of the proscribed Romans, and other fugitives, in Epirus, wanders about, for a long time, subsisting chiefly by piracy; at length, they seize, first, Messana in Sicily, and, afterwards, the whole province. Then, having killed Aulus Pompeius Bithynicus, the prætor, they defeat Quintus Salvidienus, a general of Cæsar's, in a sea-fight. Cæsar and Antonius, with their armies, pass over into Greece, to make war against Brutus and Cassius. Quintus Cornificius overcomes Titus Sestius, in a battle in Africa.

BOOK CXXIV.

Cæsar and Antonius fight an indicisive battle with Brutus, at Philippi; in which the right wing of each army is victorious; and, on both sides, the camps are taken: the death of Cassius at length decides the victory; for, being at the head of that wing which is beaten, he supposes his whole army routed, and kills himself. Afterwards, in another battle, Brutus, being overcome, puts an end to his life.

BOOK CXXV.

Y.R. 711. B.C. 41.—Cæsar, leaving Antonius to take care of the provinces beyond sea, returns to Italy, and makes a distribution of lands among the veterans. He represses, with great risk, a mutiny among his soldiers, who, being bribed by Fulvia, the wife of Marcus Antonius, conspire against their general. Lucius Antonius, consul, influenced by Fulvia, makes war upon Cæsar, having taken to his assistance those whose lands Cæsar had distributed among his veteran soldiers: having overthrown Lepidus, who, with an army, had charge of the defence of the city, he enters it in a hostile manner.

BOOK CXXVI.

Y.R. 712. B.C. 40.—Cæsar, now twenty-three years of age, besieges Antonius in Perusia; who, after several attempts to escape, is at length forced by famine to surrender. Cæsar grants a pardon to him, and all his followers. And having reduced all the various armies, in different parts, puts an end to the war without effusion of blood.

BOOK CXXVII.

The Parthians, who had joined the Pompeian party, under the command of Labienus, invade Syria, and having beaten Decidius Saxa, a lieutenant-general under Antonius, seize that whole province. Marcus Antonius, being urged by his wife Fulvia to make war against Cæsar, repudiates her, and to strengthen his alliance with him, marries his sister Octavia. He discovers the guilt of Quintus Salvidienus, who was endeavouring to promote a conspiracy against Cæsar: Quintus being condemned, puts himself to death. Y.R. 713. B.C. 39.—Publius Ventidius overcomes the Parthians in a battle, in which their general Labienus is killed, and drives them out of Syria. Sextus Pompeius, keeping possession of Sicily, greatly obstructs

the importation of corn; he demands peace, which is granted, and he is made governor of that island. Commotions and war in Africa.

BOOK CXXVIII.

Y.R. 714. B.C. 38.—Sextus Pompeius breaks the treaty which he had solicited, and infests the seas by his piracies; Cæsar, obliged to make war upon him, fights him in two indecisive sea-engagements. Y.R. 715. B.C. 37.—Publius Ventidius overthrows the Syrians in battle, and kills their King. Y.R. 716. B.C. 36.—Antonius's generals vanquish the Jews. Preparations for the war in Sicily.

BOOK CXXIX.

Several battles at sea, with Sextus Pompeius, with various success; of Cæsar's two fleets, one under the command of Agrippa gains a victory: the other, led by Cæsar himself, was cut off; and his soldiers, being sent on shore, are exposed to great dangers. Pompeius is afterwards defeated, and flies into Sicily. Marcus Lepidus comes from Africa, under the pretext of joining Cæsar in the war against Sextus Pompeius, but, in reality, to fight against Cæsar; is deserted by his army, and deprived of the honour of the triumvirate, but his life is granted him. Cæsar confers a naval crown upon Agrippa, an honour never before bestowed on any commander.

BOOK CXXX.

Marcus Antonius, having spent much time in luxurious indulgenee with Cleopatra, arrives late in Media; with eighteen legions and sixteen thousand horse, he makes war upon the Parthians. Having lost two of his legions, and nothing prospering with him, he retreats to Armenia; being pursued by the Parthians, he flies three hundred miles in twenty-one days. About eight thousand men lost by tempests; he was himself the cause of all these misfortunes, as well of the losses by the tempests, as in the unfortunate Parthian war; for he would not winter in Armenia, being in haste to revisit Cleopatra.

BOOK CXXXI.

Y.R. 717. B.C. 35.—Sextus Pompeius, notwithstanding his engagements to Marcus Antonius, endeavours to raise a war against him in Asia; slain by one of Antonius's generals. Y.R. 718. B.C. 34.—Cæsar represses a mutiny of the veterans, which threatened much mischief; he subdues the Japidæ, the Dalmatians, and Pannonians. Y.R. 719. B.C. 33.—Antonius, having, by promises of safety and protection, induced Artavardes, King of

Armenia, to come to him, commands him to be thrown into chains, and gives the kingdom of Armenia to his own son, whom he had by Cleopatra, and whom he now treats as his wife, having been long enamoured of her.

BOOK CXXXII.

Y.R. 720. B.C. 32.—Cæsar conquers the Dalmatians in Illyria; Y.R. 721. B.C. 31.—he passes over to Epirus, at the head of an army, against Antonius, who, fascinated by the love of Cleopatra, by whom he had two sons, Alexander and Philadelphus, would neither come to Rome, nor, the time of his triumvirate being expired, would he resign that office; but meditated war, and was preparing a great force, both for sea and land. He had also divorced Octavia, Cæsar's sister. Sea-fights, and battles on land between the cavalry, in which Cæsar is victorious.

BOOK CXXXIII.

Antonius's fleet vanquished by Cæsar at Actium. Antonius flies to Alexandria, where, his affairs being reduced to extremity, and being agitated by a false report of Cleopatra's death, he kills himself. Cæsar having reduced Alexandria, Cleopatra, to avoid falling into his hands, puts herself to death. Y.R. 722. B.C. 30.—Cæsar, on his return to Rome, triumphs three times; first, over Illyria; secondly, on account of the victory at Actium; and thirdly, over Cleopatra. Thus ends the civil war, after it had lasted one-and-twenty years. Y.R. 723. B.C. 29.—Marcus Lepidus, the son of Lepidus who was of the triumvirate, forms a conspiracy against Cæsar; taken and killed.

BOOK CXXXIV.

Y.R. 724. B.C. 28.—Cæsar, having settled the affairs of the state, and reduced all the provinces to exact order, receives the surname of Augustus; the month Sextilis is named, in honour of him, August. Y.R. 725. B.C. 27.—Cæsar calls a meeting of the states at Narbo, and holds an inquiry into the state of the three Gauls, which were conquered by his father. War against the Bastarnians, Mœsians, and other nations, under the conduct of Marcus Crassus.

BOOK CXXXV.

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Rhætia subdued by Tiberius Nero, and Drusus. Agrippa, Cæsar's son-in-law, dies. The census held by Drusus.

BOOK CXXXVII.

Drusus besieges and takes several cities in Germany, on both sides of the Rhine. Insurrections in Gaul, on account of the taxes levied upon that nation, suppressed. Y.R. 740. B.C. 12.—An altar erected to the Deified Cæsar, at the confluence of the Arar and the Rhone; dedicated by Caius Julius Vercundaridubius, an Æduan, appointed priest for that purpose.

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BOOK CXXXIX.

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T. Quintius Cincinnatus Pennus, iv. 26. His disputes with his colleague, and activity in the field, 27. 29. Again consul, 30. Consular tribune; unsuccessful at Veii, 31. Shares in victory with the dictator, 32, 33. Is brought to trial, and acquitted, 41.

T. Quintius Capitolinus, son of Capitolinus, consul, iv. 43. Consular tribune, 61.

T. Quintius Cincinnatus, consular tribune, vi. 4. Again, 18. Dictator; he subdues the Prænestines, 28, 29. And in his triumph conveys to the Capitol the image of Imperial Jove, brought from Præneste.

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T. Quintius, consular tribune, vi. 38.

T. Quintius Pennus, master of horse, vi. 42.

T. Quintius, dictator, vii. 9. Master of horse, 11. Consul, 18.

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T. Quintius, chosen as leader by the troops in mutiny, vii. 39. 41.

T. Quintius, commissioner of a colony, viii. 16.

T. Quintius Crispinus appointed by Marcellus to the command of a fleet, xxiv. 39. Prætor, xxvii. 6. Consul, 21. Is wounded, 27. Disconcerts a scheme of Hannibal, 28. Dies of his wound, 33.

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L. Ramnius, a Brundusian, tempted by Perseus to poison the Roman ambassadors and officers, discovers the matter to the Romans, xlii. 17. 41.
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Rheteum, promontory, xxxvii. 9. 37. xxxviii. 39.

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T. Romilius, consul, brought to trial on a charge made by Cl. Cicero, iii. 31. Decemvir, 33.

Romular, afterwards Ruminal fig-tree, i. 4.

Romulea taken by the Romans, x. 17.

Romulus Sylvius, King of Alba, i. 3.

Romulus, son of Rhea, kills his brother Remus; builds a city on the Palatine hill, and, from his own name, calls it Rome, i. 6. Forms the government, enlarges the city, opens a sanctuary, and forms a senate, 8. Orders the seizure of the Sabine women, 9. Overthrows the Cæninians, killing their King, offers the grand spoils to Jupiter Feretrius, and dedicates to him the first temple in Rome, 10. Defeats the Antemnians and Crustumnians, 11. Distressed in battle with the Sabines, vows a temple to Jupiter Stator, 12. Makes peace with the Sabines, and divides the city into thirty curias, 13. Conquers the Fidentians and Veians, appoints 300 celeres to guard his person, 15. Dies, and is esteemed a divinity, 16.

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Scodrus, mount, xliv. 31.
Scopas, prætor of the Ætolians, xxvi. 24. Makes war on the Acarnanians, 25. Carries a large body of troops to Egypt, xxxi. 43.
Scorpions, engines, the number found in New Carthage, xxvi. 47.
Scotussa, xxviii. 5. 7. Plain of Scotussa, or Melambium, xxxiii. 6.
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Seleucus, son of Antiochus, xxxiii. 40. Recovers Phocæa, xxxvii. 11. Wastes the country of Pergamus, and lays siege to the

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C. Sempronius Blæsus brings to a trial Cn. Fulvius, for the loss of his army, xxvi. 2.
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C. Sempronius Blæsus, plebeian ædile, xxxix. 7. Prætor, 32.
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L. Sempronius Atratinus, consul, iv. 7. Censor, 8.
M. Sempronius Tuditanus, on the capture of New Carthage, appointed arbiter in the dispute about a mural crown, xxvi. 48. Prætor, xxxvii. 47. Consul, xxxix. 23. Chief pontiff, 46. Dies of the plague, xli. 21.
P. Sempronius Tuditanus, ambassador to Ptolemy Epiphanes, xxxi. 2. Curule ædile, is made prætor, xxiv. 43, 44. xxv. 3. xxvi. 1. Censor, xxvii. 11. Consul, xxix. 11. Makes peace with Philip, 12. Engages in an irregular combat with Hannibal, and is worsted: Engages him again, and gains the victory, 36.
P. Sempronius Sophus, plebeian tribune, ix. 33. Inveighs against Appius Claudius, censor and orders him to be imprisoned, 34. Consul, he enjoys a triumph, 45. Is made pontiff, x. 9. Prætor, 21.
P. Sempronius Blæsus, plebeian tribune, opposes the grant of a triumph to P. Cornelius Scipio, xxxvi. 39.
P. Sempronius Gracchus, plebeian tribune, and Caius, accuse Acilius Glabrio of peculation, xxxvii. 58.
P. Sempronius Longus, prætor, xxxix. 32.
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Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, when very young, is made augur, xxix. 38. Chosen, as remarkably spirited, by Scipio, for an expeditious journey to Philip, xxxvii. 7.

Tib. Sempronius Longus, consul, xxi. 6. Is sent into Sicily, 17. Recalled, and joins his colleague, 51. Is defeated by Hannibal, 55. Fights Hannibal again, is successful at first, but worsted afterwards, 59. Fights Hanno with good success, xxiii. 37.

Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, plebeian tribune, although at enmity with Scipio Africanus, stops the prosecution against him, and receives thanks from the senate for his honourable conduct, xxxviii. 53. Prevents the imprisonment of L. Scipio, 60.

Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, commissioner of a colony, xxxix. 55. Prætor, xl. 35. Consul, xli. 8. Triumphs over the Celtiberians, 7.

Tib. Sempronius Longus, son of Caius, commissioner of religious affairs, xxvii. 6. Prætor, xxxiii. 24. Consul, xxxiv. 42. Informs the senate of an insurrection in Liguria, 56.

Tib. Sempronius Musca, commissioner of lands, xlv. 13.

Sena, colony, xxvii. 46.

Senate, instituted by Romans, consisting of one hundred members, called Patres, and their descendants, Patricians, i. 8. Why called Conscript Fathers, ii. 1. Their number augmented on the destruction of Alba, i. 17. 30. to two hundred, and to three hundred by the first Tarquinius, called Fathers of Inferior Birth, 35. Is diminished by the cruelty of Tarquinius the Proud, 49.; and filled up by Brutus, ii. 1. Chiefs of the Albans chosen into the senate, i. 30. The first mention by Livy of a plebeian senator, v. 12. Appius Claudius procures the admission of sons of freed men into the senate, but this practice is not followed, ix. 46. The rule altered, which required the senate's previous approbation of a law, before it was passed by the people, i. 17. Senators chosen first by the kings, i. 8. 30. 35.; afterwards by the consuls, ii. 1.; and from the year three hundred by the censors, iv. 8. After the battle of Cannæ, a dictator created to choose the senate, xxiii. 22. Prince of the senate generally the member alive who had been censor first, xxvii. 11. This rule not always observed, 13. A particular place assigned to senators at the public shows, xxxiv. 54. Decrees of the senate first kept by the ædiles in the temple of Ceres, iii. 55. Afterwards in the treasury, iii. 9. Decree of the last necessity, iii. 4. Senators forbidden to deal in merchandise, xxi. 63. Liable to a fine for non-attendance, iii. 38. Judgment of the senate, auctoritas, iv. 57.

Senones, people of Gaul, advance to Clusium, and to Rome, v.

35. See *Gauls*. Surround and cut to pieces a Roman legion, x. 26.
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Sepinum taken by L. Papirius, x. 44, 45.
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Sergia, practised in poisoning, put to death by a dose of her own composition, viii. 18.
C. Sergius, consular tribune, vi. 4. Again, 11. A third time, 27.
L. Sergius, carrying an offering to Delphi, taken by pirates, and dismissed, v. 28.
L. Sergius Fidenas, military tribune, v. 16. Consul, 17. Consular tribune, 25. A second time consul, 30. A second time consular tribune, 35. A third time, 45.
L. Sergius Fidenas, consular tribune, iv. 35.
Manlius Sergius, decemvir, iii. 35.
Man. Sergius Fidenas, consular tribune, iv. 61. Again, v. 8. On his camp being attacked by the Faliscians, he chooses to be vanquished by the enemy, rather than send to his colleague for succour, for which he is brought to trial, 11.; and fined, 12.
Man. Sergius, military tribune, assists in the taking of Locri, xxix. 6. Is scourged by Pleminius, and put to death, 9.
Man. Sergius Silus, prætor, when the number was increased to six, xxxii. 27. Lieutenant-general, xliv. 30.
Serrhium, fort, taken by Philip, xxxi. 16.
Servilii, Albans, chosen into the senate by Tullus Hostilius, i. 30.
C. Servilius, commissioner of lands, obliged to fly by an inroad of the Boians, xxi. 25.
C. Servilius, consul, ii. 49.
C. Servilius, consular tribune, contending with his colleagues, submits to the advice of his father, iv. 45.
C. Servilius Ahala, master of horse, kills Mælius, iv. 13, 14. Is commended by the dictator, 15. Made consul, 30. Consular tribune, 56. Master of horse, and a second time consular tribune, 57.; a third time, v. 8. In obedience to the will of the senate he obliges his colleagues to abdicate, 9.
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C. Servilius, commissioner for conducting a colony to Placentia, is seized by the Gauls, xxi. 25.; and sixteen years after is delivered, and brought home by his son, xxx. 19.
C. Servilius, son of the preceding lieutenant-general, throws supplies into the citadel of Tarentum, xxv. 15. Is made pontiff, xxvii. 6. Plebeian ædile, 21. Master of horse, and curule ædile, 33. 36. Prætor, xxviii. 10. 46. Consul, xxix. 38.

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Cn. Servilius Cæpio, pontiff, xxv. 2. Curule ædile, xxviii. 10. Prætor, xxxviii. 46. Consul, xxix. 38. xxx. 1. Goes over to Sicily in pursuit of Hannibal, but is recalled by a dictator appointed for the purpose, 24. Dies, xli. 21.

Cn. Servilius Geminus, consul, xxi. 57. xxii. 1. He ravages the island of Maninx, 31. Follows the plan of Fabius in conducting the war, 32. 43. Is slain at Cannæ, 49.

L. Servilius Structus, consular tribune, iv. 47.

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Q. Servilius, consul, ii. 6. Again; and is sent against the Æquans, iii 2.

Q. Servilius, quæstor, prosecutes M. Volscius for false evidence against Cæso, iii. 24.

Q. Servilius Priscus, dictator, iv. 21. Routes the Etrurians, and takes Fidenæ, 22. Calls on the tribunes to make the consuls name a dictator, 26. Is made dictator, 46. Defeats the Æquans, 47.

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Theogenes, Macedonian general, xliv. 32.

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Theoxena, daughter of Herodicus, a Thessalian chieftain, her extraordinary affection for the children of her sister Archo, and her courageous death, xl. 4.

Thermopylæ, streights, xxviii. 5. 7. Pylaic council held there, xxxiii. 35.

Thermopylæ, why so called, rendered memorable by the efforts of the Lacedæmonians against the Persians, xxxviii. 15. Defeat of Antiochus near it, 18, 19. See 42. and xlv. 22.

Thesprotians assist Ap. Claudius in Epirus, xliii. 21.

Thesprotian bay receives the river Acheron, viii. 24.

Thessalian cavalry, ix. 19.

Thessaly, xxvii. 30. 32. Its rich plains tempt the Ætolians, xxxi. 41. It is plundered by three armies at once, xxxii. 14, 15. Philip defeated there by T. Quintius, xxxiii. 7, 8. 24.

Thessalians make heavy complaints against Philip, xxxix. 25. Are answered by him in a menacing manner, 26. Raise insurrections on account of debts, xlii. 5.

Thessalonice, a congress held there, concerning Thracian cities seized by Philip, xxxix. 27. xl. 56.

Thetidium, xxxiii. 6, 7.

Thoas, prætor of the Ætolians, persuades them to engage Antiochus, Philip, and Nabis, in alliance against the Romans, xxxv. 12. Exaggerates the power of Antiochus, 32. Dissuades Antiochus from employing Hannibal, 42. Opposes Phæneas's proposal of an accommodation, 45. Is required to be given up to the Romans, xxxviii. 38.

Thrace, xxxvii. 60. Invaded by the Gauls, xxxviii. 16.

Thracians attack the troops of Manlius on their march, xxxviii. 40, 41. 46. Consent to give a passage to the Bastarnians, xl. 57. On the death of Philip, quarrel with, and expel them, 58. Send ambassadors to Rome, and form an alliance and friendship, xlii. 19. Wage frequent wars with the Macedonians, 52. Attack the Roman cavalry with extraordinary fury, 59. Send an embassy to Rome to ransom prisoners, and obtain them without ransom, xlv. 42.

Thrasippus, Macedonian, commander of a chosen band of targeteers, xlii. 51.

Thraso, intimate friend of Hieronymus, King of Syracuse, falsely accused as a conspirator, and put to death, xxiv. 5.

Thrasimene, or *Trasimene*, lake, the battle near it, xxii. 6, 7. xxiv. 13.

Thrasians, plunderers, put to flight by the Romans, xxxviii. 41.

Thronium, a conference held there between Philip and Quintius, xxxii. 36. xxxv. 37. xxxvi. 20.

Thuriæ, or *Thurii*, ix. 19. x. 2. Having revolted to Hannibal, returns to its former friendship with Rome, xxv. 1. Revolts again to Hannibal, the Roman garrison being treacherously exposed to Hannibal's stratagem, 15.

Thyatira, xxxvii. 8. 21.

Thymbris, river, xxxviii. 18.

Thyrium, xxvi. 11. Refusing an alliance with Antiochus, is besieged by him, but the siege is soon raised, 12. A council of the Acarnanians held there, to give audience to Roman commissioners, xliii. 17.
Thunder being heard while an assembly is held, vitiates the proceedings, xxiii. 31.
Tiberina, island, ii. 5.
Tiberinus, tenth king of Alba, i. 3.
Tiber, or *Tiberinus* river, formerly *Albula*, until King Tiberinus was drowned in it, i. 3. Frozen so hard, that the navigation is stopped, xv. 13. Remarkable floods in it, xxiv. 9. xxx. 38. xxxv. 9. Two bridges and many buildings in Rome destroyed, 21. The field of Mars, and low parts of the city, overflowed twelve times in one year, xxxviii. 28.
Tibur, xxii. 12.
Tiburtians, war declared against them by the Romans, vii. 9.; who gain a victory over them, 11. They come in the dead of the night to the walls of Rome, and are defeated, 12. Compelled to submit to the Romans, 19. They support the Pedians, viii. 12. Are conquered by L. Furius, 13. And stripped of part of their lands, 14.
Ticinus, river, v. 34.
Tichius, a summit of Mount Œta, xxvi. 16. 18.
Tifata, mount, vii. 29. xxiii. 36. xxvi. 5. xxxii. 7.
Tifernum, ix. 44. x. 14. 31.
Timanor, Macedonian general, xlii. 58.
Timisicrates, Rhodian naval commander, xxxvii. 14.
Timasitheus, commander of the Liparean pirates, protects the Roman ambassadors, v. 28.
Timavus, lake, xli. 2.
Timocrates, governor of Gythium, xxxiv. 29. 40.
Timon, a person of consequence in Phthiotic Thebes, xxxiii. 5.
Timon made governor of Lydia by Antiochus, xxxvii. 44.
Timotheus, Macedonian general, xlii. 67.
Titienses, a century of Roman knights, and an old tribe, i. 13. 36. x. 6.
L. Titinius, consular tribune, v. 12. Again, he is unsuccessful against the Faliscians, 18.
M. Titinius, plebeian tribune, iii. 54.
M. Titinius, master of horse, x. 1.
M. Titinius Curvus, prætor, xl. 59.
M. and *C. Titinius*, plebeian tribunes, oppose the suit of L. Cornelius for a triumph, xxxv. 8.
P. Titinius, lieutenant-general, xxxi. 21.
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Tolistoboian Gauls, xxxviii. 16. 19.

Lars Tolumnius, King of the Veians, orders the Roman ambassadors to be slain, iv. 17. Is killed in battle by Cornelius Cossus, military tribune, 19.
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Torone taken by Philip, xxviii. 7. xliv. 12.
Torone, promontory, xxxi. 45.
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M. Trebellius, xliii. 21.
Q. Trebellius, centurion, claims the mural crown at New Carthage, xxvi. 48.
Trebia taken by Coriolanus, ii. 39.
Trebia, river, where Hannibal defeats the Romans, xxi. 48.
Trebius procures the surrender of Compsa to Hannibal, xxiii. 1.
C. Trebonius, plebeian tribune, v. 11.
C. Trebonius, lieutenant-general, x. 40.
L. Trebonius, plebeian tribune, a bitter adversary to the patricians, thence surnamed Asper, iii. 65.
M. Trebonius, consular tribune, vi. 21.
Trebonian law, vi. 11, 12.
Trebula stormed by Fabius, xxiii. 39.
Trebulans made free of Rome, x. 1.
C. Tremellius Flaccus, ambassador to Attalus, xxix. 11. Prætor, xxx. 26.
C. Tremellius, commissioner of lands, xxii. 4.
C. Tremellius Flaccus, plebeian ædile, xxx. 26.
Cn. Tremellius, plebeian tribune, protests against the censors being continued in office, xlv. 15.
Triarian, veteran soldiers, ii. 47. vii. 23. viii. 8.
Tribune of the celeres, i. 59.
Tribunes, military, on the secession of the soldiers, are appointed by the troops, iii. 51.
Tribunes, military, as first appointed by the generals, afterwards in part by the people, vii. 5. ix. 30.
Tribunes, consular, three in number, first elected, iv. 67. Four elected, 31. Six are elected, 61. Eight are elected, v. 1. All patricians during forty-four years, vi. 37. The first plebeian, v. 12.
Tribunes, plebeian, first created, ii. 33. Their persons inviolable, iii. 55. Magistrates of the commons, not of the people at large, ii. 35. 56. Ordered to be elected in an assembly of the tribes, and three added to their number, 56. 58. The number encreased to ten, iii. 30. The office laid aside on the creation of decemvirs, 32. Restored, 54. Two are brought in by choice of their college, 64. and v. 10. This mode of co-optation forbidden, iii. 65. and v. 11. A ple-

beian tribune orders his beadle to seize a consul, ii. 56. The tribunes threaten to imprison the consuls, iv. 26. Do the same to the consular tribunes, v. 9. Prevent the election of curule magistrates during five years, vi. 35. Their power confined within the walls of the city, iii. 20.

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Tricorian people, xxi. 30.

Trigemina gate, iv. 16. xxxv. 10. 41. xli. 27.

Triſudium Soliſtimum, when the chickens eat greedily, x. 40.

Triphylia restored to the Achæans by Philip, xxviii. 8. xxxii. 5.

Triſolis, in Laconia, xxxv. 27.

Triſolis, Scea, in Perræbia, xlii. 53. 55. 67.

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Triumph of Tarquinius Priscus, the first mentioned by Livy, i. 38.

Triumph, iii. 29. The dress of generals in triumph, x. 7. The granting of a triumph belongs properly to the senate, iii. 63. A triumph ordered by the people, without the approbation of the senate, iii. 63. vii. 17. One without an order of either, x. 37.

A triumph not allowed to a commander, who was not invested with any magistracy, xxviii. 38.

Triumph of Scipio Africanus, xxx. 45.

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Trogilii harbour, xxv. 23.

Troilium, x. 46.

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Trophonian Jupiter, his temple in Lebadia, xlv. 27.

Troy taken; two other places named Troy, i. 1.

Trojan district, i. 1.

Q. Tubero, historian, iv. 23. x. 9.

M. Tuccius, curule ædile, xxxv. 41. Prætor, xxxvi. 45. Commissioner of a colony, xxxix. 23.

Tullia, two of the name, daughters of Servius Tullius, king, i. 46 to 59.

Man. Tullius, consul, ii. 19.

Sex. Tullius, chief centurion a seventh time, addresses the dictator Sulpicius on his protracting the war, vii. 13. Shows extraordinary bravery in battle, 16.

Tullianum, prison, xxix. 22.

Tumult, Gallic, vii. 9.

Tunes, a strong city, fifteen miles distant from Carthage, taken by Scipio, xxx. 9. 16.

Turdetans, or *Turdulians*, a restless people in Spain, xxi. 6. Are entirely subdued by the Romans, sold by auction, and

their city rased, xxiv. 42. Their lands tributary to Saguntum, xxviii. 39. They are defeated by P. Manlius, xxxiv. 17. 19.
Turnus, King of the Rutulians, i. 2.
Tuscans. See *Etrurians*.
Tuscan sea, v. 33. xxvi. 19.
Tuscan street, in Rome, ii. 14. xxvii. 39.
Tusculum, ii. 15, 16. Taken by the Latines, and recovered, vi. 33. Shuts its gates against Hannibal, xxvi. 9. Its hills, iii. 7, 8. Citadel, 23. and vi. 33.
Tusculans send succours to Rome, iii. 18. War declared against them by the Romans, which they avoid by peaceable demeanour, obtain peace, and privileges of Roman citizens, vi. 25, 26. viii. 14. 37.
Tutia, river, xxvi. 11.
Tycha, part of Syracuse, xxiv. 21. xxv. 25.
Tyscos, xxxviii. 18.
Tyndarium, xxxvi. 2.
Tyrrheum, or *Thyrium*, xxxvi. 11. xxxviii. 9.
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Vadimon lake, a furious battle fought there by the Romans and Etrurians, ix. 39.
Valerius Antias, historian, iii. 5. Regardless of truth, xxvi. 49. Quoted, xxv. 39. xxix. 35. xxx. 19. 29, &c.
Valerius Flaccus, military tribune, xxv. 14. xxxix. 4.
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C. Valerius, consul, viii. 18.
C. Valerius Potitus, consular tribune, iv. 49. Consul, 53. Consular tribune a second time, 57. A third time, 61.
C. Valerius Flaccus made flamen of Jupiter against his will, assumes a seat in the senate, xxvii. 8. Made curule ædile, he cannot take the requisite oath, xxxi. 50.
C. Valerius Taptus, plebeian tribune, xxxviii. 36.
L. Valerius, quæstor, accuses Spurius Cassius of treason, ii. 41. Is made consul, 42. Again, 61. Wages war with the Æquans, 62.
L. Valerius, interrex, v. 17.
L. Valerius, deputed to carry to Delphi an offering to Apollo, is taken by pirates, and set at liberty, v. 28.
L. Valerius, master of horse, viii. 18.

L. Valerius, Poplicola, consular tribune, v. 26. A second time, vi. 1. A third time, 5. A fourth, 21. A fifth, 27.

L. Valerius Potitus commences an opposition to the decemvirs, iii. 39. 41. With M. Horatius drives Appius out of the Forum, 49. Is deputed by the senate to the commissioners, 50. 53. Made consul, he procures laws in favour of the commissioners, 55. His conduct in war, 60, 61. He triumphs by order of the people, without consent of the senate, 63. Refuses to be continued in office, 64. See iv. 6.

L. Valerius Potitus, consular tribune, iv. 49. A second time, 58. A third, v. 1. A fourth, 10. A fifth, 14. Consul, he defeats the Æquans, and triumphs, 31.

L. Valerius Potitus, interrex, v. 32. Again, vi. 5.

L. Valerius, pontiff, xxxiii. 44.

L. Valerius Flaccus, curule ædile, xxxi. 4. Prætor, 49. Consul, xxxiii. 42. Defeats the Boians, xxxiv. 21. Proconsul, he entirely vanquishes the Boians, and Insubrians, 46.

L. Valerius Flaccus, with L. Valerius Tappus, commissioners of colonies, xxxvii. 46. 57. Candidate for the consulship, 58.

L. Valerius Flaccus chosen censor with Cato, in opposition to the nobility, xxxix. 41. Pontiff; dies of the plague, xl. 42.

L. Valerius Tappus, prætor, xxxv. 10. Commissioner of colonies, xxxvii. 46.

M. Valerius, herald, ratifies a treaty in form, i. 24.

Man. Valerius, brother of Poplicola, consul, triumphs over the Sabines, ii. 16. Is slain at Regillus in attempting to kill Tarquinius, 20.

Man. Valerius, not the first dictator, ii. 18.

Man. Valerius, son of Volesus, dictator, ii. 30. Triumphs over the Sabines, and, not being suffered to fulfil the hopes that he had given to the commissioners, abdicates, 31.

Man. Valerius, quæstor, iii. 25. Consul, 31.

Man. Valerius, military tribune, gains the surname of Corvus, from being aided by a crow in a single combat with a Gaul, and is made consul at twenty-three years of age, vii. 26. A second time consul, he triumphs over the Volscians, 27. A third time consul, 28. Is beloved by the soldiers, 33. Triumphs over the Samnites, 38. Dictator, 39. Composes a mutiny of the troops, 40, 41. A fourth time consul, he triumphs over the Ausonians, viii. 16. Interrex, 17.; and ix. 7. Dictator a second time, x. 3. Triumphs, 5. Consul a fifth time, 6. A sixth time, 11.

M. Valerius Maximus, consular tribune, v. 14. Again, 24.

M. Valerius Maximus, ix. 28. Lieutenant-general, 40. Prætor a fourth time, 41.

M. Valerius Poplicola, master of horse, vii. 12. Consul, 17. Again, 19.

Man. Valerius Falto, ambassador to Attalus, xxix. 11. Curule ædile, xxx. 26. Prætor, 40.

M. Valerius Lævinus, prætor, xxiii. 24. 30, 31. 37. Proprætor, he guards the coast at Brundusium, xxiv. 10. His exploits in Greece during the Macedonian war, 40. and xxvi. 24. 26. He is chosen consul in his absence, 22. Exchanges provinces with Marcellus, 29. Persuades the senators to contribute their gold, silver, and money to the treasury, 36. Drives the Carthaginians quite out of Sicily, 40. Disputes with the senate about the nomination of a dictator, xxvii. 5. Proconsul, he passes from Sicily into Africa, xxviii. 4. Is sent ambassador to Attalus, xxix. 11. Proposes restitution of the money contributed by private citizens, 16. Remarkable funeral games are exhibited in honour of him by his sons, xxxi. 50.

M. Valerius Messala, admiral, sails to Africa, and ravages the coast, xxvii. 5. Is made prætor, xxxiv. 54. Consul, xxxvii. 47. A second time, xxxviii. 35. Pontiff, xlii. 28.

P. Valerius, son of Volesus, accompanies Collatinus to Lucretia, i. 58. Swears after Brutus, 59. Is made consul in the place of Collatinus, ii. 2. Overcomes the Tarquinii in battle, 6. Is accused of aiming at sovereignty, clears himself, compliments the people, and is surnamed Publicola; is also made consul, 8. A third time, 15. A fourth, he defeats the Sabines, triumphs, and dies so poor, as not to leave sufficient money for his funeral, 16.

P. Valerius, consul, ii. 52.

P. Valerius Potitus, consular tribune, vi. 6. A second time, 18. A third, 27. A fourth, 32. A fifth, 36. A sixth, 42.

P. Valerius Publicola, interrex, iii. 8. Consul, 15. Attempts to recover the Capitol from Herdonius, and is slain, 18.

P. Valerius Publicola, consul, vii. 21. Prætor, 23. Dictator, 28. Master of horse, viii. 17.

P. Valerius Flaccus, ambassador to Hannibal, xxi. 6. Lieutenant-general under Marcellus, xxiii, 16. Commander of the fleet, 34. 38. See xxvi. 8.

T. Valerius, lieutenant-general, xxiv. 40.

Vatican lands, x. 26.

Vesilius, mount, iii. 50.

Vettones defeated by M. Fulvius, xxxv. 7. A second time, 22.

Veians make incursions on the Roman territories, and are routed by Romulus, i. 15. Again, by Tullus, 27. See 30. 42. They assist Tarquinius, ii. 6. Waste the lands of the Romans, 43. Challenge the Romans to battle, 45. Are defeated, 46, 47. After cutting off the Fabii, 50. Are vanquished by the Romans, 51. Are defeated again, 53. They kill the ambassadors sent from Rome, and renew the war with

bad success, iv. 17, 18, 19. Force the Romans to retire, 31.; but are afterwards routed, 33. Obtain a truce of twenty years, 35. Their senate gives a haughty answer to Roman ambassadors, 58.; on which the Romans declare war, 60. The Veians elect a king, which disgusts the Etrurians, v. 1.

Veii is besieged by the Romans, iv. 61. A winter encampment before it, v. 2. Transactions of the siege, 7 to 21.; when it is taken by Camillus after a siege of ten years, 22. A design formed at Rome of removing to Veii causes great commotions, 24, 25. 29.; is laid aside, 30. The relics of the fight at Cannæ fly to Veii, 37. Camillus marches thence to recover Rome, 46. 48. The proposal of removing to Veii is renewed, 49, 50.; rejected, 55. Such as had gone thither are recalled, vi. 4. A tenth part of the spoils of Veii vowed to Apollo by Camillus, v. 21. See 23. 25. 28.

Veian lands are divided among the commons of Rome, v. 30.

Velabrum, a street in Rome, xxvii. 37.

Velia, a city in Lucania, xxvi. 39.

Velia, a district in Rome, ii. 7.

Velitræ, ii. 30. A colony 31. Augmented, 34.

Velitrani revolt, vi. 13. 21. Are subdued, 22. 29. Attack Tusculum, and are invested by the Romans, 36 to 42. Plunder the Roman territory, vii. 15. Revolt again, viii. 3. 12. Are treated with severity on account of their many revolts, and banished beyond the Tiber, 14.

Veneti, in Italy, descended from the Heneti and Trojans, i. 1. Live round the bottom of the Adriatic gulph, v. 33. x. 2.

Venus, i. 1. Her temple, near the Circus, built out of fines levied for breach of chastity, x. 31.

Venus Cloacina, iii. 48.

——— *Erycina*, xxii. 9. xxiii. 30, 31. xxx. 38.

Venusians give a hospitable reception to the fugitives from Cannæ, xxii. 54. Maintain their loyalty to the Romans during a general defection, xxvii. 10.

Veragrians, an Alpine tribe, xxi. 38.

Vergæ, xxx. 19.

Vercellius beheaded for promoting a revolt of the Hirpinians, xxiii. 37.

Vergium, a fort in Spain, a receptacle of robbers, is taken by Cato; the robbers are put to death, and the guilty part of the inhabitants sold, xxxiv. 21.

Vergiliæ, constellation, xxi. 35.

Vermina, son of Syphax, forces Masinissa to fly, xxix. 33. Brings succours to the Carthaginians, xxx. 36. Sends ambassadors to Rome, xxxi. 11. Submits the conditions of peace to the Romans, 19.

Verona, v. 35.

Verrugo, iv. 1. 55, 56. v. 28.
Verses, Fescennine, vii. 2.
Verulans, ix. 42. Prefer their own laws to the rights of Roman citizens, 43. Vertumnus, his statue, xliv. 16.
Vescelia, xxxv. 22.
Vescia, viii. 11. Comes into the hands of the Romans, ix. 25.
Vescian people, x. 20.
——— *lands*, xxi. 31.
Veseris, river, viii. 8. x. 28.
Vesta, a couch for her at a feast of the gods, xxii. 10. The fatal pledge of the Roman empire is kept in her temple, which is saved by some slaves from being burnt, xxvi. 27. Her fire is extinguished, xxviii. 11.
Vestal, Rhea Sylvia, mother of Romulus, is made one, i. 3, 4.
Vestal Virgins, chosen by Numa, have a stipend appointed, and many privileges are conferred on them, i. 20.
Vestal Virgins, with the sacred stores, are carried to Cære by L. Albinius, v. 40.
A Vestal accused is dismissed, with a charge to be more serious in conversation, and more grave in her dress, iv. 44.
A Vestal, convicted of a breach of chastity, is buried alive, viii. 15.
A Vestal, who had the charge of the sacred fire, when it was extinguished, is scourged to death, xxviii. 11. Of two vestals found guilty of incontinence, one is buried alive at the Colline gate, the other kills herself, xxii. 57.
Vestia Oppia, a woman of Atellæ, who had offered daily sacrifices for the prosperity of the Romans, is restored to her liberty and property, xxvi. 33, 34.
Vestians join the Samnites, are routed and dispersed, viii. 29. An alliance is granted on their petition, x. 3.
Vesuvius, mount, viii. 8. ,,
Vettians, a warlike people, adjoining Macedonia, xlv. 30.
Veturia, mother of Coriolanus, prevails on him to retire from Rome, ii. 40.
Veturian century, xxvi. 22.
C. *Veturius*, consul, is charged with misconduct, iii. 31. Is made an augur, 32.
C. *Veturius*, consular tribune, vi. 32. Again, 36.
L. *Veturius*, decemvir, iii. 33.
L. *Veturius*, consular tribune, vi. 38.
L. *Veturius Philo*, dictator, to hold elections, xxii. 33. Censor, xxvii. 6.
L. *Veturius Philo*, curule ædile, xxvii. 6. Prætor, 7. Proprætor in Gaul, 22. Lieutenant-general, xxviii. 9. Consul, 10. Master of horse, xxix. 11. Is sent home from Africa, and recounts the exploits of Scipio, xxx. 38. 40.

M. Veturius, consular tribune, v. 13.
T. Veturius Philo, flamen of Mars, xxix. 38.
T. Veturius Calvinus, consul, viii. 16. Again, ix. 1. Is sent under the yoke of Caudium, 6. Offered, as prisoner to the Sabines, 10.
T. Veturius Geminus, consul, routes and disperses the Volscians, iii. 8. Is honoured with an ovation, 10.
C. Vetusius, consul, ii. 19.
T. Vetusius, consul, ii. 28. Marches against the Æquans, 30.
Ufens, river, v. 35.
Ufentine tribe added, ix. 20.
Uffugum revolts from the Carthaginians to the Romans, xxx. 19.
Vibius Accuæus, præfect of a Pelignian cohort, throws the standard into the enemy's camp, xxv. 14.
Vibius Virius, one of the Campanian ambassadors to the consul Varro, persuades his countrymen to join the Carthaginians, xxiii. 6. Exhorts the senators to put an end to their lives, xxvi. 13. He and twenty-seven senators swallow poison, 14.
Vibius, a Bruttian of distinction, comes ambassador to Rome with offers of submission, xxvii. 15.
Vibo, xxxi. 3. A colony settled there, xxxv. 40. Its lands, xxi. 51.
Vicæpota, or *Victory*, her temple, ii. 7.
Vicilinus, *Jupiter*, xxiv. 44.
Victims, of the larger kinds, xxx. 21.
Victory, her temple, built with money accruing from fines, x. 33. Her temple on the Palatine, xxix. 14. A chapel of Virgin Victory, xxxv. 9. A golden image of Victory, weighing three hundred and twenty pounds, sent by Hiero to the Roman senate, xxii. 37. Mount of Victory, xxiv. 41.
Q. *Victorius*, chief centurion, throws a standard among the enemy, xxxiv. 46.
Victumviæ, sea-port, xxi. 45. Is taken with great slaughter of the inhabitants, 57.
Villa publica, house for lodging ambassadors, and strangers of note, built, iv. 22. Repaired, xxxiv. 44.
L. Villius Tappulus, plebeian ædile, xxv. 2.
L. Villius Tappulus, prætor, xxxi. 49.
P. Villius, plebeian tribune, iii. 54.
P. Villius Tappulus is raised from the office of plebeian ædile to that of prætor, xxix. 38.
P. Villius, a commissioner to adjust a dispute between Antiochus and Ptolemy, xxxiii. 39.
P. Villius Tappulus, commissioner of lands for Scipio's soldiers, xxxi. 4. Consul, 49.
Viminal hill added to Rome, i. 44.

Vindicius, a slave, discovers a conspiracy formed for restoring the Tarquinii, ii. 4. Is rewarded with liberty, and a sum of money, 5.

Virbian hill, i. 48.

Virginia, daughter of Aulius, a patrician, married to Volumnius, a plebeian consul, being excluded from the temple of Patrician Chastity, dedicates a chapel and altar to Plebeian Chastity, x. 23.

Virginia, daughter of Lucius, her unfortunate beauty, lamentable death, and the punishment of her persecutors, iii. 44. 48. 58.

A. Virginius, consul, ii. 28. Routes the Volscians, 30.

A. Virginius, son of Appius, consul, ii. 63.

A. Virginius Rutilus, consul, ii. 51.

A. Virginius, commissioner of lands, iii. 1.

A. Virginius, plebeian tribune, commences a capital prosecution against Cæso Quintius, which causes violent contentions, iii. 11. 13.

A. Virginius is brought to trial and fined, for having, in his tribuneship, favoured the senate, v. 29.

L. Virginius, father of Virginia, chief centurion, iii. 44. His contest with Appius about his daughter, 47. He kills her, 48. Commotions in consequence, 49, 50. He advises the soldiers to elect ten military tribunes, and refuses to be one, 51. Is made plebeian tribune, 54. Prosecutes Appius, 56.; and orders him to be imprisoned, 57. Remits the capital punishment of Claudius, who had claimed Virginia, 58.

L. Virginius, consul, iv. 21. Again, 23.

L. Virginius, consular tribune, out of enmity neglects assisting his colleague Servius, v. 8. Both are compelled to resign the office, 9. He is brought to trial by a plebeian tribune, and fined, 11, 12.

L. Virginius, consular tribune, vi. 1.

Opiter Virginius, consul, with his colleague, takes Pometia, and triumphs, ii. 17.

Opiter Virginius, consul, ii. 54.

Proculus Virginius, consul, maintains a contest with his colleague about the Agrarian law, ii. 41.

Sp. Virginius, consul, iii. 31.

T. Virginius, consul. ii. 21. 48.

T. Virginius Rutilus, augur, iii. 7.

T. Virginius Cælimontanus, consul, iii. 65.

Virtue, her temple vowed by Marcellus, xxvii. 25. Dedicated by his son, xxix. 11.

Visceratio, distribution of flesh, viii. 22.

Vitellia taken by Coriolanus, ii. 39. A Roman colony taken by the Æquans, v. 29.

Vitellii, brothers, conspirators in favour of the Tarquinii, ii. 4.
Vitruvius Vaccus, of Fundæ, general of the Privernians, viii. 19. Is scourged, and put to death by the Romans, his house rased, and his property confiscated to Semo Sanchus, 20. The site of his house on the Palatine is called Vacciprata.
Ulysses said to be the progenitor of Octavius Mamilius, i. 49.
Umbria, x. 1. Part of it called the Materine tract, ix. 41. Another part the Sappinian tribe, xxi. 2. xxii. 9. xxvii. 43.
Umbrians are driven out of their country by the Boians, v. 35. They, and the Etrurians, are defeated by the Romans at the Ciminian forest, ix. 37. Utterly overthrown, 39. They boast that they will attack Rome, are vanquished, and compelled to give up the advisers of their revolt, 41. They join the Etrurians, Samnites, and Gauls, against the Romans, x. 21. 27.
Vocontians, xxi. 31.
Volæ, or *Bolæ*, belonging to the Æquans, iv. 49. 51. vi. 2.
Volatenæ, x. 12. The inhabitants promise Scipio rigging for his ships, and corn, xxviii. 45.
Volcans oppose Hannibal's passing of the Rhone, xxi. 26.
Volero. See *Publilius*. The tribunes called Voleros by Appius Claudius, ii. 58.
Volones, slaves enlisted in the armies, xxii. 57. xxiii. 32. xxiv. 11. Gracchus promises them liberty, on condition of their bringing the heads of the enemies, xxiv. 14. They are set free, 15. Gracchus orders their public feast, at Beneventum, to be represented in painting; hangs up the picture in the temple of Liberty, 16. xxv. 20. xxvii. 38. xxviii. 46.
Volscians are attacked by Tarquinius Superbus, i. 53. Corn is purchased from them, ii. 9. They prepare to assist the Latines, but give hostages, yet secretly prepare for war, 22.; and march to attack Rome, 24. Are defeated, 25. Renew the war, and are conquered, 30. Deprived of part of their lands, 31. Again defeated, 33. Are ordered to quit Rome, 37. At the instigation of Attius Tullus they take arms against the Romans, xxxviii. 39. Are led to Rome by Coriolanus, 40. Are conquered, and treated with the harshest severity, 53. A truce of forty years is granted to them, 54. They renew hostilities, 58. Defeat the Romans, 59. Attack their camp, and are severely beaten, 64, 65. They invade the Roman territory, are utterly routed, and the nation is almost extirpated, iii. 7, 8. They renew the war in conjunction with the Æquans, 10. Are vanquished, 12. 60. They lay siege to Ardea, and are surrounded by the Romans, iv. 9. Beaten, and sent under the yoke, 10. They again join the Æquans against the Romans, 26. Attack the consul's camp, 27. Their own camp is taken, and all the prisoners, except senators, are sold as slaves, 29. Again they renew hostilities, 37.

55, 56. Suffer a defeat, 57. Take Venugo, 58. Are again worsted in battle, 61. They besiege Anxur, v. 16. Obtain peace, 23. Break the peace, and are reduced to submission by Camillus, vi. 2. Meet the same fate in two subsequent efforts, 6. 8. 11. 13. Join the Prænestines, and take Satricum, 22. Suffer several discomfitures, 23. 32. vii. 17. viii. 1. They desert Hannibal, and submit to the Romans, xxvii. 15.

Volscians and *Æquans*, so often conquered, still found recruits for their armies; this is accounted for, vi. 12.

Volscians, people in Spain, their much-approved answer to the Roman ambassadors, xxi. 19.

M. Volscius Fictor appears as a witness against Cæso Quintius, iii. 13. Is prosecuted for false evidence by the quæstors, 24. Condemned and banished, 29.

Volsinians make inroads on the Roman territory, v. 31. Are defeated, and obtain a truce of twenty years, 32. They use nails, fixed in the temple of the goddess Nortia, as a registry of the years, vii. 3. They suffer several defeats, ix. 41. x. 37.

Voltumna, goddess, her temple, iv. 23. v. 17. A general assembly of Etruria is summoned thither, iv. 23. 25. v. 17. A conspiracy against the Romans is formed there, vi. 2.

Volumnia, wife of Coriolanus, ii. 40.

L. Volumnius, consul, gets the better of the Sallentines, ix. 42. A second time consul, x. 15. He leaves his own province to succour Appius Claudius, and, after some altercation, they gain a glorious victory, 18, 19. He surprises the Samnites who had plundered Campania, 20, 21. Shows remarkable moderation and prudence at the elections, 21. Is continued in command, 22.; and acts with success in Samnium, 30, 31.

P. Volumnius, consul, iii. 10. Ambassador to the Æquans, he is insulted by their leader, Gracchus Clœlius, 25.

Voluntary contribution to the treasury by the senators, xxvi. 36.

Volunteer soldiers, v. 16. xxvii. 46. xxviii. 45. xxix. 1., &c.

Volustana, summit of the Cambunian mountains, xliv. 2.

Urbicua taken by Fulvius with great difficulty, xl. 16.

Urites, people, furnish ships to the Romans, for the Macedonian war, xlii. 48.

Uscana, in Illyria, where Appius Claudius is ensnared by the garrison, and suffers severely, xliii. 10. It is taken by Perseus after an obstinate defence, 18. Perseus, in violation of the capitulation, sells the natives, and confines the Romans, 19.

Usurers fined, vii. 28. x. 23. Their practices, viii. 28.

Utens, river. See *Ufens*.

Utica, its lands ravaged by Otacilius, xxv. 31. Again wasted, xxvii. 5. Again by Valerius Lævinus, xxviii. 4. Scipio encamps near it, xxix. 28. Lays siege to it, and retires, 35.

Besieges it again, xxx. 3. 5. 8. His fleet is attacked by the Carthaginians, 9, 10.
Vulcan, the arms and spoils of the enemy dedicated to him, and burned, i. 37. viii. 10. His temple in the field of Mars, xxiv. 10. Arms of the Carthaginians offered to him by Scipio, xxx. 6. Court of his temple, ix. 46. xxxix. 46. xl. 19.
Vulcan's islands, xxi. 49. 51.
Vulturnus, river, viii. 11. x. 20. 31. xxii. 14. xxiii. 14. 19. Fort at its mouth, afterwards a city, xxv. 20. 22.
Vulturnus, a city of the Etrurians, seized by the Samnites, and called Capua, iv. 57.
Vulturnus wind blows dust into the eyes of the Romans at Cannæ, xxii. 46.

W

Walls built round Rome, i. 6. 33. 36. 44. vi. 32.
War, the mode of declaring it, i. 32.
Water brought into the city, ix. 29.
Waters of Cumæ, medicinal, xli. 16. Those of Sinuessa much celebrated, xxii. 13.
Watches, the night divided into four; the first, v. 44. Second, vii. 35. Third, ix. 44. Fourth, ix. 37.
Watches mounted by senators, iii. 6.
Watches posted in all the streets of Rome, x. 4.
Wicked street, i. 48.
——— *field*, viii. 15.
Widows, their taxes assigned to the maintenance of horses for the knights, i. 43. Their money lent to the public, xxiv. 18.
Wine for sacrifices supplied by the public, x. 23.
Wine allured the Gauls into Italy, v. 33.
Winter campaign at Veii, v. 2.
Winter, uncommonly severe, v. 13.
Wood, the Arsian, ii. 7.
——— Ciminian, ix. 36.
——— Mæsian, i. 33.
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Writers quoted by Livy:—
Acilius's Annals, xxx. 39.
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Silenus, xxvi. 49.
Tubero, iv. 23.

Valerius Antias, iii. 5.
Linen books, iv. 7.
Books of the magistrates, iv. 20.
Commentaries of the pontiffs, vi. 1. See iv. 3.
Wolf, said to have suckled Romulus and Remus, i. 4. Images of the wolf and infants, x. 23.
Wolf sacred to Mars, x. 27.

X

Xanthippus, Lacedæmonian general, xxviii. 43.
Xenarchus, prætor of the Achæans, wishes to ingratiate himself with Perseus, xli. 23.
Xenoclides, governor of Chalcis, disappoints an attempt of Thoas and the Ætolians, xxxv. 38. Reinforces the garrison of Chalcis, 50.
Xenophanes, head of an embassy from Philip to Hannibal, is taken by a party of Romans, and escapes through an artful fiction, xxiii. 3. Is taken again, and conveyed to Rome, xxxiv. 38.
Xenophon, Achæan chief, accompanies Quintius at a conference with Philip, xxxii. 33.
Xyniæ, xxxii. 13. xxxiii. 3.
Xychus, accomplice of Perseus in compassing the ruin of Demetrius, forges letters under the signature of Flamininus, xl. 55,

Y

Year is divided by Numa into twelve lunar months, i. 19.
Years reckoned among the Volsinians by nails fixed in the wall of a temple, vii. 3.
Yoke, military, iii. 28. A Roman army sent under it, ix. 5. A Samnite army, 15. See x. 36.
Youth, a goddess, v. 54. A feast of the gods in honour of her, xxi. 62.

Z

Zacynthus, island, xxi. 7. Is taken by Lævinus, xxvi. 24. Is given up to the Romans, xxxvi. 32.
Zama, five days' journey from Carthage; here Scipio defeated Hannibal, xxx. 29.
Zama, or *Same*, island, xxxii. 16.
Zelasium, promontory, xxxi. 46.
Zeno supplicates T. Quintius in favour of his countrymen the Magnetians, xxxv. 31.
Zeno is made governor of Aparnea by Antiochus, xxxvii. 44.

Zeno, Macedonian, governor of Theium, xxxviii. 1.
Zeuxides, prætor of Acarnania, is deposed for favouring the Romans, xxxiii. 16.
Zeuxis, ambassador from Antiochus to Scipio, xxxvii. 45.
Zoippus, son-in-law of Hiero, guardian of Hieronymus, xxiv. 4, 5. Being sent ambassador to Egypt, he remains in voluntary exile, and his wife and daughters are murdered by the Syracusans, 26.
Zybœa holds part of Bithynia in opposition to Nicomedes, and is conquered by the aid of the Gauls, xxxviii. 16.

THE END.





